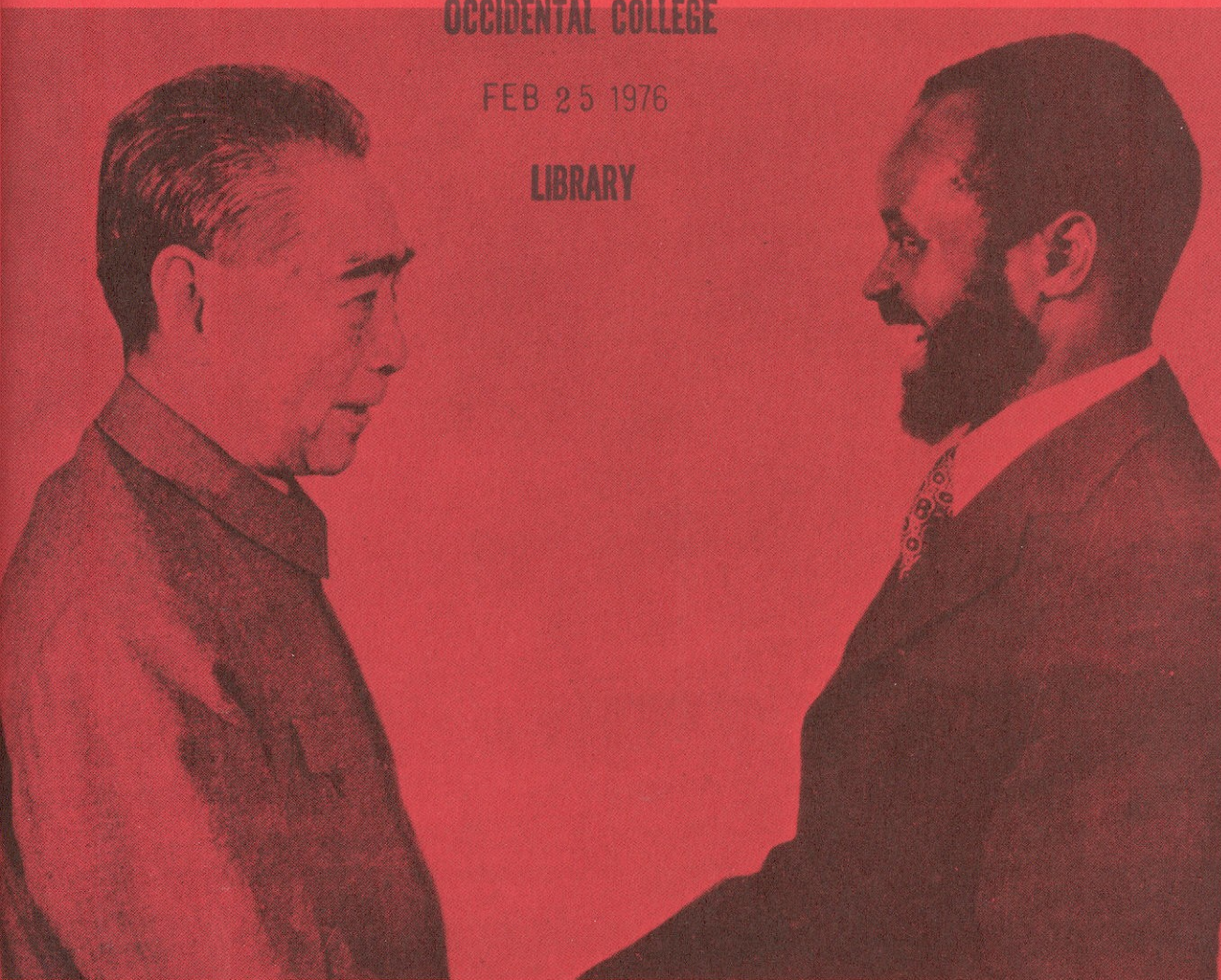


# MUNGER AFRICANA LIBRARY NOTES

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President Machel and China's Chou En Lai. China and Mozambique are close political allies. The Soviet Union has given significant military supplies, but South Africa is just as important an economic ally.



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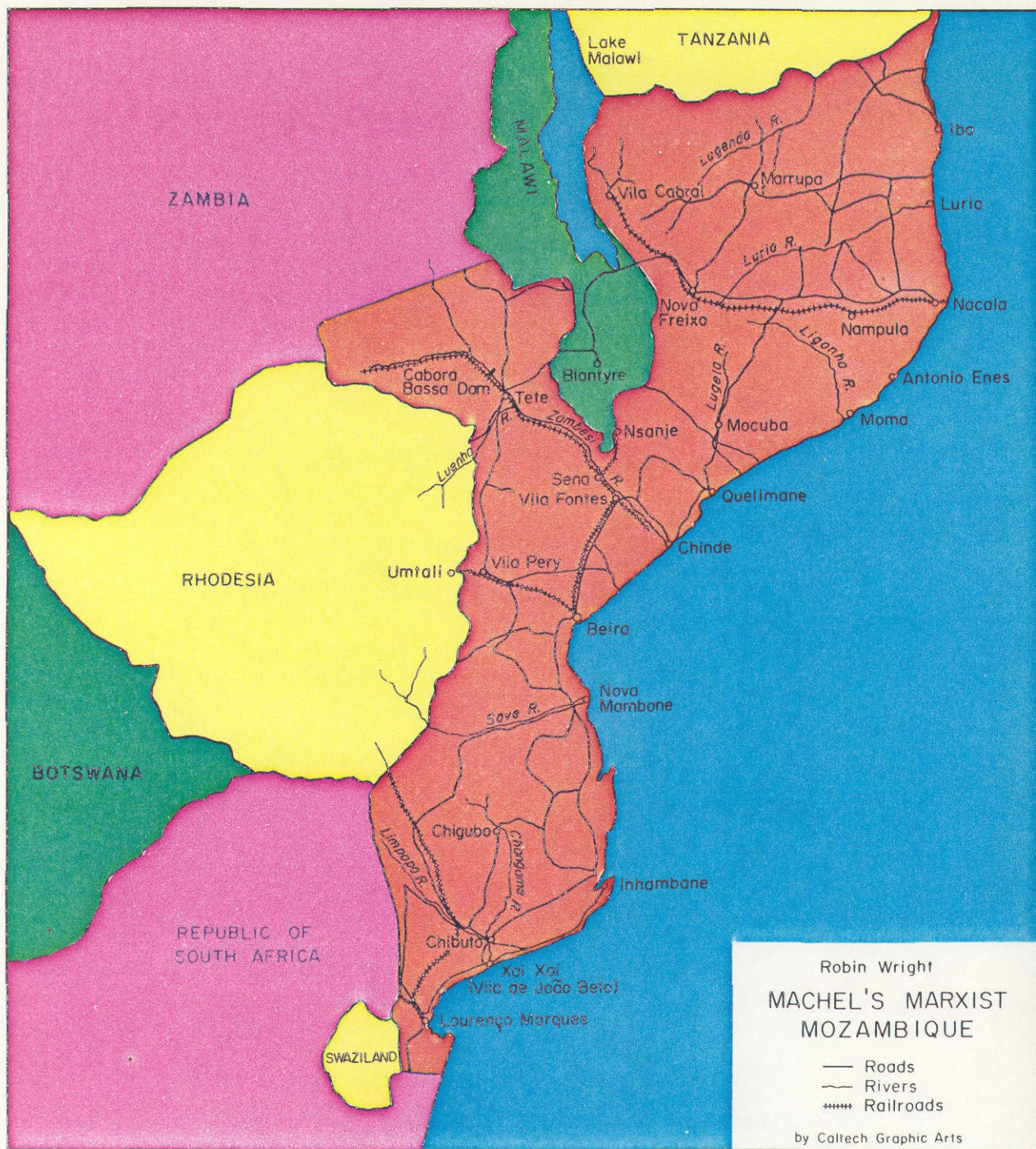
Issue #34

March 1976

MACHEL'S MARXIST MOZAMBIQUE

Robin Wright







## INTRODUCTION

The term "intrepid" sounds like a nineteenth-century characterization of American reporters in Africa, such as Henry Morton Stanley or Richard Harding Davis. But it aptly describes twenty-six-year-old Robin Wright of the Christian Science Monitor, who has spent the last year in Africa as an Alicia Patterson Foundation Fellow. Earlier, as a highly regarded foreign correspondent whose bylines have often run on the front page, she crossed the Sahara by land and filed stories throughout East Africa. Most of her fellowship year has been spent in Mozambique and Angola. In the latter country, in the midst of the civil war, Wright hitchhiked on an OAU plane to visit all three Angolan leaders -- Roberto, Neto, and Savimbi -- in their field headquarters.

This issue focuses on Wright's coverage of Mozambique, beginning with an interview with Janet Mondlane in Dar-es-Salaam. Wright then joined President Samora Machel in his pre-independence tour of the newly-freed country before Frelimo took over officially in June of 1975. Early in 1976 our author reviewed her Mozambique contacts and here she provides an assessment of the first six months of independence.

Firsthand field reports by objective observers are basic material on which subsequent scholarly studies depend. Richard Nolte, Executive Director of the Alicia Patterson Foundation, stresses the "no strings" nature of the Fellowships, which are awarded to the best three or four of a large number of well-qualified applicants each year from working members of the news media.

Robin Wright chose to concentrate on Mozambique because of the unique opportunity to observe the birth of this new nation. Independence came only a few years after the Portuguese government had launched what might be called a second five hundred-year development plan. It also came after a decade of bitter and bloody fighting -- the longest and hardest fight for independence in black Africa.

What is remarkable about Frelimo as a liberation movement has been its ability to draw support from almost all ethnic groups in Mozambique. The present unity of the peoples of Mozambique is less a product of the centuries of Portuguese hegemony than of the sense of nationhood born in the crucible of the decade-long war. Much of the success of colonial rule in Africa resulted from Machiavellian divide-and-rule tactics. In Mozambique the Portuguese did split off some of the important Makonde people in the northeast. But the final unity was a key to the success of the struggle.

To be sure, colonial historiography for a long time tried to conceal instances of successful African resistance to European rule, and it is



only in the last few years that African protests and revolts, especially in southern Africa, have had scholarly analysis. In the case of Mozambique, a particularly overlooked example of resistance was the Barue Rebellion during World War I, in which all of the people of the Zambezi Valley in Mozambique were united and the Portuguese were driven out of large parts of the valley. It is true that after six months the Portuguese, with the crucial support of their Ngoni allies, recouped their lost territory. But fifty years later, Frelimo's penetration of the Zambezi Valley was facilitated by the pan-Zambezian consciousness that survives from the Barue Rebellion of 1917. A full-length scholarly description of this African resistance is contained in a forthcoming book by Allen and Barbara Isaacman for the University of California Press and Heinemanns.

Eduardo Mondlane, the cosmopolitan leader of Frelimo before his assassination by a book bomb mailed to him in Tanzania, laid the basis of Frelimo's ethnic unity from his own personal convictions that men and women of all races and tribal origins were needed to create a free and democratic Mozambique. Mondlane had a gift for inspiring people of diverse backgrounds. I remember when he was elected by the social science students at the University of Witwatersrand to represent that overwhelmingly white group of students.

Mondlane was a man of peace, though successful in war. He was the last of the Frelimo leaders to give up hope that the Portuguese would accede to a peaceful transfer of power. In 1961, I wrote from Lourenco Marques: "[While Angola is making headlines] on the other side of Africa Mozambique is outwardly calm and orderly. Yet in many ways Mozambique is the more vulnerable Portuguese possession."<sup>1</sup> It was discussions with Eduardo Mondlane that led me to make that prediction. This was just before the first fierce onslaughts of the war, when Frelimo struck south across the Rovuma River. Mondlane was making his last visit to Mozambique. I had known Eduardo for a decade in America and respected him as a man of high character. In 1952, I invited him to join me on an NBC network radio discussion of Africa. I asked Mondlane what happens if an African people want to develop their country "faster than the colonial power wants them to?" Mondlane replied, "That has to be dealt with according to the situation in which the colony is. Where there has been a beginning toward independence, we can work with that beginning, and with that government which is there. But where the situation is different...we have to work with them....We cannot have it any other way today."<sup>2</sup> In a subsequent comment Mondlane stated, "One sometimes forgets that... Africans who are in that territory want to partake in the whole problem of the political life of the country. Unless the role of chieftainship,

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<sup>1</sup>Mozambique: Uneasy Today, Uncertain Tomorrow, American Universities Field Staff, Vol. IX, No. 4, 1961.

<sup>2</sup>"Africa in the Modern World," an NBC Radio Discussion with Melville J. Herskovits, Eduardo Mondlane and Edwin S. Munger, the University of Chicago Roundtable, No. 719, January 6, 1952, p. 4.



representation that is built on the chief, is changed, we will have to hurt the feelings of the new generation of educated people."<sup>3</sup>

On his last visit to his homeland, Eduardo still held a slim hope for Portuguese conciliation. But he was no doubt also assessing the situation and making Frelimo contacts. The Salazar dictatorship was still trying to woo him to join their mission at the United Nations. Mondlane cared less for the comfortable life the Portuguese promised him and cared more for what they would do for the people of Mozambique.

On that last visit the Portuguese secret police (PIDES) followed him so closely that I declined his invitation to accompany him for a few days. However, after watching a large anti-American rally in Lourenco Marques held to protest remarks on Angolan independence that Adlai Stevenson had made before the United Nations, some of the PIDES rough boys grabbed me on a street corner and creased my head with a large club. I was not amused the next day when, my head swathed in one huge bandage to protect the nine stitches, American Consul General Taft chided me for observing the anti-American rally.

The whole atmosphere in this period was ambiguous toward Mondlane and toward the whole question of whether there was to be war or peace. For example, one afternoon in the Polana Hotel overlooking the Indian Ocean as I was talking with the hall porter in the lobby, a handsome black man came in. Something made me approach him and say, "Excuse me, but aren't you from Ashanti? I'd like to chat with you." He looked startled and then said, "Come to my room," and he mentioned the number. Once there, he identified himself as Miguel Augustus Ribeiro, Ghanaian Ambassador to Ethiopia. He explained that although he was pure Ashanti, he had all Portuguese names. He said he had been flown down from Addis Ababa as part of a peace move by the Portuguese.

I asked him if he didn't find it difficult to contact the African underground. He said, "That's why I invited you here. Many of the PIDES are watching me, some must be watching you, and now they are all watching this room while my Ghanaian aide is having discussions with the anti-Portuguese Africans." He went on to say that his

RIBEIRO AND FRIEND



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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 6.



Portuguese friends in the diplomatic corps in Addis Ababa had placed too much faith in the idea that because he had Portuguese names he would be most likely to sympathize with their position. As I was leaving he said, "If you doubt me about PIDES, look and see if you aren't followed by a blue Chevrolet or a green Volkswagen." As my taxi drew away, I did watch. It was followed by both the Chevrolet and the VW!

In the end, nothing came of the many efforts for peace on the part of Mondlane and his colleagues and intermediaries such as Ambassador Ribeiro. The decade of war that followed led to many deaths and much suffering. The coup in Lisbon led to the abrupt end of five centuries of Portuguese rule on the African continent. If good can come from suffering, it may be that a sense of nationhood was forged in Mozambique which, with independence suddenly conferred, does not appear to have been achieved in Angola. If Eduardo Mondlane were alive, he might be disturbed at some of Robin Wright's reports that follow, but Mondlane had a dream -- a basic dream that came true posthumously. With his deep Christian faith and long association with missionaries and churchmen in the west, it is not likely he would now approve the anti-Christian aspects of Mozambican Marxism nor its Sino-Soviet orientation. But independence came first in his goals.

Mondlane would have been distressed with events in Angola, whose liberation struggles he followed with keen interest. Knowledgeable people have speculated that the Soviet thrust to support the MPLA in Angola with arms and Cuban surrogates was a reaction to the close ties the People's Republic of China has established in Mozambique and the Soviet lack of success, so far, in obtaining concessions in the use of Mozambique ports for naval vessels. A contrary view is that Soviet efforts in Angola were stimulated by the success of the Goncalves government in Lisbon in handing over power in Mozambique, and that the present Angolan civil war arose in part because of the shift away from the far left in Portugal itself, which the Soviet Union had not expected. But one of the highest State Department officials told me that he felt the scale of support for the MPLA was a reaction to lack of Soviet success in the Middle East. As this issue is published, Secretary Kissinger has privately said that he wishes to visit Mozambique on an African tour. Whether or not this visit eventuates, the present plans reflect the enhanced importance of both Mozambique and Angola in America's African policy.

Robin Wright is an outstanding journalist, and we are grateful to her and to the Alicia Patterson Foundation for this timely reportage on Mozambique.

E.S.M.

JANET MONDLANE OF THE MOZAMBIQUE INSTITUTE:  
AMERICAN "GODMOTHER" TO AN AFRICAN REVOLUTION

Dar es Salaam

Off a dusty road on the outskirts of the bustling east African port city of Dar es Salaam stretches an unimpressive, single-story concrete building. Starkly utilitarian in design, furnishings and decor, it has served for the past thirteen years as one of two facilities that housed a revolution, the liberation struggle to end five-hundred years of Portuguese domination in neighboring Mozambique.

It was to this simple structure that Mozambique refugees and exiles flocked to join the independence movement. It was here that Frelimo (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) decided after two years of peaceful operations to cross the Tanzanian border and take up arms against the Portuguese. And it was here that leaders devised the entire strategy for political and social development of the liberated zones, ultimately amounting to one-third of the country.

But on June 25 Mozambique gains full independence, marking the formal end of the bitter guerrilla war that led to new governments in both Mozambique and Portugal. And at that time this unpretentious but important building known as the Mozambique Institute will close down and the last of its staff will return home to take part in the new government. Home, that is, for everyone except the Institute's director, who has never lived in the land she worked so hard to liberate.

"Comrade" Janet, as she is called by her colleagues, is an American. Or, as she prefers to say, she was born, raised and educated in the United States. But as one of the founders of Frelimo and after thirteen years of working for the movement, Janet Mondlane says she is as anxious to go "home" as the other Mozambicans now helping to plan for impending independence from the Institute's cubicle offices.

"It will be strange. I don't know quite what to expect," she smiled from behind the large wooden desk that takes up half of her small informal office. "Liberation came so suddenly with the Portuguese coup [in April 1974]. We had calculated that it would take eight to ten years before we controlled the entire country. I've had so much to do since the transition that I haven't had time to think about the move. But it means so much...I still find it hard to believe." She paused. "It's been a long haul."



For Janet Mondlane it has been an unusually long haul, with some unique twists, from an average Middle American upbringing to a successful revolutionary in Africa.

Born Janet Rae Johnson in a small Illinois town forty-one years ago, she was the product of the staid American midwest during the postwar era. Her youth centered around church, piano, family and domestic interests, sewing, embroidery and cooking.

"Straight," she recalled about those early years. "I was really a small town American girl with little experience and very narrow-minded views." Then again with a reflective, amused smile, "Very straight."

The transformation began in 1951, at the age of seventeen, when at a church camp in Geneva, Wisconsin she met Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, a Mozambican studying in the United States. He spoke at one of the camp sessions on the future of Africa. He impressed her and, despite initial rebuffs, she pursued him. "I decided to grab him quickly," she laughed. Five years later, after she had finished her B.A. and he had finished his M.A., they were married.

Their differences were many. She was twenty-two; he was thirty-six. She was American; he was African. She was white; he was black. She came from a "real WASP upper middle-class family"; her father was a mechanical engineer. He came from a poor, polygamous family in rural Mozambique; his father was a tribal chief. Her background was apolitical and "pure capitalist"; he was a devout socialist.

The gaps were not closed merely because of marriage, she claimed adamantly. "I didn't just marry into the revolution," she smiled, anticipating the question. "I had always wanted to go to Africa, from the age of nine. I had intended to become a doctor and work as a medical missionary. And my M.A. from Boston University was in African studies.

"No," she said slowly, large brown eyes squinting, thinking back as her hand fiddled with the old de-elasticized watch that hung like a bangle on her wrist. "The change is as much from our experience in the United States, where several bad experiences opened my eyes.

"It was tough for an interracial couple in the mid-50s. It was then that I turned from the church because they discouraged our marriage. That was a big smirch. I felt the church did not follow its own doctrine. Later the church organization that was to sponsor Eduardo's Ph.D. thesis research unilaterally cancelled the scholarship for they disapproved of such marriages.

"Then as an interracial couple in Boston -- that was really an experience. We could not even find housing. Finally through the university we found a place, a miserable place for which we paid a tremendously high price."



Janet Mondlane



Eduardo Mondlane



Similar experiences during the first six years of their marriage "grew" on her and by the time Mondlane decided to quit his job as professor of sociology at Syracuse University to return to Africa and organize the many Mozambique liberation factions into a united front she was "fully politicized. I wanted to get involved in changing the system as much as he did," she explained.

From the time they reached Dar es Salaam -- a city that offered support and facilities for the Mozambique liberation movement -- in 1963 she never played the role of mere wife, "even though I had to fight the image for a long time." Her initial roles as fundraiser, public relations agent, organizational assistant and social welfare expert -- "I did a little of everything" -- evolved into the directorship of the Mozambique Institute, the nonmilitary branch of Frelimo that has often been called "a front for the Front."

That she is a power in her own right has been proved a number of times. Shortly after the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane by a mail bomb on February 3, 1969, several Frelimo officials became involved in a power struggle and in the process attempted to take over the Institute.

"But Janet would never stand for simply being The Widow," a colleague at the Institute remarked. "She is a strong personality and as deeply committed to Mozambique as anyone here. While she had arrived as Eduardo's wife, she had by 1969 developed into much more. She had a job and she intended to stick to it." Samora Machel, subsequently elected to succeed Mondlane as Frelimo president, stood by Janet and supported her continued role at the Institute.

It happened at a crucial time for the Institute and a major turning point for Frelimo. In 1968 Frelimo had held its second Congress -- the highest level of the movement -- and decided to put as much emphasis on reconstruction of the liberated areas as on the guerrilla campaign. Previously the Institute had run its education, health and refugee rehabilitation programs mainly in Tanzania. Now projects were to be set up in Mozambique itself, "as proof we really controlled the area and as proof of our intentions," she explained.

It was a novel step, and one of the aspects that makes Frelimo unique among African liberation movements. Nowhere else in sub-Saharan Africa but in the three Portuguese colonies (Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau) did a liberation movement wage a full military campaign for a prolonged period. And Mozambique was unique among the three because large-scale, nonmilitary programs were set up during the war. "We decided to consolidate our victories and to begin rebuilding the nation, getting a further edge on the enemy," Mrs. Mondlane explained.

Shortly before his death Mondlane wrote about the decision: "One of the chief lessons to be drawn from nearly four years of war in Mozambique is that liberation does not consist merely of driving out the Portuguese authority, but also of constructing a new country. This construction must be undertaken even while the colonial state is in the process of being destroyed....We are having now to evolve

structures and make decisions which will set the pattern for the future national government."

By 1969 Frelimo controlled the major portion of two provinces and portions of two others, all in the north. Although the most sparsely populated areas of the country, this still involved approximately 800,000 people, just under 10 percent of the entire Mozambique population.

"We had to provide material goods since supplies would no longer come from the commercial areas in the south. This involved everything from soap and matches to clothes and food. Then medical and educational services had to be established, and administrative and judicial systems organized," Mrs. Mondlane outlined.

"For a time the problem was acute," her husband noted in his book The Struggle for Mozambique. "We had been unprepared for the extent of work before us and we lacked experience in most of the fields where we needed it. In some areas, shortages were serious and when the peasants did not understand the reasons they were withdrawing their support from the struggle and in some instances leaving the region altogether."

The problems were not just organizational. "We had to find funds from sympathetic governments or private sources, and train personnel, especially in the field of health. Even determining just what was needed caused problems as the people were so spread out," she recalled.

Communication was a singularly difficult task. Although Frelimo strategy was to build an underground political base in an area before moving in militarily, this didn't mean the largely peasant populations were ready for what was to happen after an area was "liberated." Tribal loyalties and superstition offered formidable obstacles.

Frelimo proposed to install an extremely alien system, one that challenged the authority of the local chief and the cultural traditions of a tribe. The administration of villages was reorganized on the basis of people's committees elected by the entire population. And agriculture was reorganized so that producers worked in cooperatives under the direction of the local party. This system took away from the chief his traditional roles as organizer of both political and economic life and required massive reorientation or politicalization programs to gain the support of the people.

Janet Mondlane and her small staff of Mozambique exiles and sympathizers coordinated most of the activity and personnel for these new programs, with complete control over the planning of social services -- as well as complete responsibility for financing them. Janet Mondlane's midwest twang became well known among foundations, political organizations and newspaper editors all over the world. Her blitz trips abroad to raise money and support were then keeping her away from the Institute and her family -- of three children -- up to two months each year; it was during one such trip to Europe that her husband was killed.



"Every minute of work was worth it," she contends. "There were long-term benefits we did not fully realize at the time. What we did in the liberated zones is in many ways a microcosm of what we have to do now in the entire country.

"For example, since most of the doctors have fled the country we have to establish a health system almost from scratch, as we did in the north. [Several sources agree that there are now about fifty certified doctors left to serve a population of nine million.] And in education we have to deal with 97 percent illiteracy, which means we must provide a system for adults as well as children, again as we did in the north. In the past six years we have taught over 20,000 children, more than the Portuguese were doing in the rest of the country." (While outside sources do not question the 20,000 figure, they estimate that illiteracy is more like 80 percent.)

Refugees are another familiar problem. They were a primary concern of the Institute in its early days and are again in the early period of the Frelimo government. About 100,000 are estimated to be returning to Mozambique, straining already limited resources to the point that the United Nations has already answered government requests for emergency aid.

"Of course there are many differences in what we did in the north and what we are dealing with now. We have to work with a large urban sector now; the demography is much more diverse. But we have experience at least in the organization and services, and that is what has made our struggle different -- and successful," she smiled, nodding her head and acknowledging her biased pride.

The winding down of the Institute's specific functions in Tanzania has not diminished its importance or work -- nor the role and workload of Janet Mondlane. Most of the staff from Frelimo's military office in town have moved to the Institute's office on Kilwe Road, where all are involved in planning for the future -- in Mozambique. As one Tanzanian remarked, "The Institute is no longer a front for Frelimo. It is now where everyone of any importance is. Mozambique is now being run from a small institute in Tanzania."

That is almost true. Transitional government officials in Lourenco Marques, Mozambique's capital, commute regularly to Dar es Salaam to confer on plans for implementation after July 25. And all foreign missions check first in Dar es Salaam, where Frelimo President Samora Machel and Vice President Marcelino Dos Santos also remain, before going to Mozambique.

Quietly, almost surreptitiously, Janet Mondlane continues to run the show, whether organizing a last-minute reception for foreign dignitaries, inspecting proposals for health programs, or looking for trucks to be loaded for shipment of goods to needy areas.

"Janet has been the supporting force throughout it all," Vice President Dos Santos attested. "Her knowledge and experience will be vital in

planning for the future of Mozambique," another colleague vouched.  
"We would be nowhere near as prepared without her drive and ability.  
She has been like, what do you call it, a godmother to the revolution."

SPREADING THE REVOLUTION: THE FIRST  
TASK FACING INDEPENDENT MOZAMBIQUE

Xai Xai

The crowd, 11,000 strong, had been waiting, standing, for almost three hours, many having walked over twenty miles to hear what the new leaders of Mozambique had to say. As Prime Minister Joaquim Chissano reached the open platform it started to pour, but no one moved.

"Who has the power?" the energetic figure called to the crowd, ignoring the rain.

"The people," the crowd called back, smiles breaking out on many faces.

"Who?" he asked again, also smiling.

"The people," they roared back louder.

Then, in a sudden serious tone, he surprised them, asking: "Do you say that just because now you have a black Prime Minister?"

Before giving the crowd a chance to answer he continued: "Having freedom does not mean the struggle is over, that the people really have the power.

"We have a whole system to change and it will take the people, all the people, both black and white people, to do all the work we have ahead of us."

Gently but candidly he appraised the future: "We have many problems. People are starving in the north. Some people have no water. Others have been flooded out of their homes and lost their crops. But we knew we would find Mozambique in the mess it is now in. That is why we began the fight for independence eleven years ago. We wanted to change the inequality and exploitation and rebuild a nation.

"But freedom means more than a new flag. It means more than black faces in government. The hardest part of the struggle begins now. And it will take more than songs and poems and slogans."





Mass meeting at Xai Xai,  
the new flag prominently  
on display.



Joaquim Chissano, the new  
Prime Minister, addresses  
the crowd.



For two and one-half hours the soft-spoken but charismatic figure held the crowd, all standing in the cool damp night air, as he assessed the future of this massive southeast African country. The only breaks were pauses to hear from the people about their problems and concerns. With each issue put forward by the crowd "Comrade" Chissano easily wove the problem back into the message he had been relaying from the start.

"What about unequal distribution," an older man shouted from the back.

The Prime Minister responded: "Before there is equal distribution there must be production," (as there currently is a chronic shortage of both food and foreign exchange in Mozambique). "To do that people must be organized. Equal distribution also means there must be concern about more than the immediate locale or one tribe. Equal distribution means de-tribalization, unity, awareness of the needs of the entire country."

"Discrimination," a woman called out next.

"It is not color that exploits and oppresses people, it is a system," Chissano declared in a firm tone.

"Color alone does not divide. It is ideas, not color, that counts, and anyone who has the right ideas, who wants to work, is welcome to stay. Frelimo fought to establish equality, so we will not refuse equality to those who refused it to us. We need everyone for the work ahead of us."

As the crowd continued to call out their problems, the real concerns that had drawn most of them to this rally -- although no one would ever mention them specifically -- were slowly getting answers. Those questions: What is a peace-time Frelimo? And how will it change their lives?

Although Mozambicans are well acquainted with the movement's reputation and the names of its assassinated founder Eduardo Mondlane and current President Samora Machel, they have until recently known little about the specific structure of the Front, its programs, or its plans for the future.

Since it was founded on June 25, 1962 Frelimo has operated from bases in neighboring Tanzania, and the Portuguese government suppressed publicity about the movement as much as possible. At its peak during the war Frelimo held about one-third of the land, the only area where it worked in a nonmilitary capacity by setting up schools, health facilities, farm cooperatives, and establishing new administrative and judicial systems. But this only affected about the population, since the liberated zones are the most sparsely populated areas.

Thus 90 percent of the population knew Frelimo mainly as "liberators," as a military unit, when the transitional government took over



September 20. And communication since then has been difficult because eighty percent of the population is illiterate and cannot read the newspapers or sidewalk billboards that now clearly broadcast Frelimo's socialist platform.

So it is not difficult to understand the motivation and patience of those who had set out at noon to make the 4 p.m. rally, who had waited right through the dinner hour, standing in the packed field during the three-hour delay, and who stood spellbound, despite spurring showers, as the Prime Minister spoke for another two and one-half hours, all knowing there was a long trek home after it was over.

"I've waited all my life for this," explained an old man, a withered shell built up by the shoulder pads of his second-hand suit jacket. "Three hours, ppsscht, it is nothing. I would wait many more." He smiled broadly. "I want to know what Frelimo is going to do for us."

A mother standing next to him, baby tied to her back, added: "This is my future. I want to hear about it."

The old man and the young mother may have been somewhat surprised by what they subsequently heard. As Mozambicans are learning from similar tours by officials throughout the country, Frelimo is not promising to do anything for individual Mozambicans. But it is promising to allow people to do something for themselves.

As the Prime Minister explained to the crowd, "The colonialists took initiative away from the people. We had no voice in what we grew, how much we grew, or what happened to our produce. We want to give the initiative back to the people." It was a popular message and the crowd cheered.

The message has a practical as well as ideological motive. Frelimo has neither the manpower nor the desire to send in groups of outsiders to run each village and city, thus simply replacing the Portuguese with Mozambicans.

First of all, the nation currently faces a chronic shortage of skilled personnel, mainly due to the mass exodus of Portuguese, who dominated the education system and thus provided the vast majority of skilled and professional labor.

As the situation deteriorated in the last year of the war many fled, mainly to Portugal and South Africa. The white population of just over 200,000 has been halved since January 1973. The biggest flight came after September 1974 when white extremists seized a Lourenco Marques radio station in an abortive bid to prevent Frelimo from coming to power. Fearing a backlash, more than 52,000 have since left. Most had skills that are irreplaceable. So, even if Frelimo wanted to simply plug in Mozambicans to the Portuguese system, it could not as there are not enough trained to take over.

But more fundamentally, Frelimo has always advocated that in principle the masses should be involved in government. Throughout the war the movement promised to radically alter the system to allow greater self-reliance once it took over. As Frelimo President Samora Machel explained in his book Mozambique: Sowing the Seeds of Revolution, "Releasing the masses' sense of creative initiative is one of the chief purposes of our struggle....We are trying to make people understand that everything that is done or undertaken depends upon each man himself."

But, as the new government has acknowledged, Frelimo can only provide the structure for a new system. Beyond that "people must take the initiative." As Machel added: "Our life and our discipline can be based only on conscious and voluntary involvement."

Promoting participation in the new government -- "spreading the revolution" -- was thus one of the primary reasons for this tour by Frelimo officials. As the Prime Minister repeatedly told the crowd at Xai Xai (formerly known as Joao Belo): "Freedom by itself does not produce, does not solve our problems. We must not just sing unity, we must apply it through organization."

He applied the message specifically to the problems of the area, such as flooding from the Limpopo River that in March wiped out the season's crops and forced 350,000 to flee their homes: "We must think of ways to use this water for times when there is none, or ways to channel it to areas where there is a shortage of water. The solutions must come from the people, those who are the most familiar with the area and its needs. We in Lourenco Marques do not know the area as well as you do. And besides, we cannot do everything. If you want the power you must participate and help with answers and programs to solve this water problem."

The call to organize is not just abstract talk. Frelimo has a specific plan of organization that it is currently installing throughout the country to provide a means for participation. At the core of the system is the circle or cell, a small group of people gathered from either work or residential areas. A secretariat elected by the members administers the unit.

Cells theoretically are "to set in motion the masses' creative ability." Specifically, the most immediate purpose of the cells is to implement two programs to politicize and educate the masses.

"Dynamization," a political "consciousness-raising" program, is the chief concern, for it is the means through which Frelimo hopes to explain its policies and prepare people for their new responsibilities. "Alphabetization" is a dual education and work program designed to lower Mozambique's 80 percent illiteracy rate and organize cooperatives for farming.

Basically cells are to promote the "collective spirit" and to replace the tribal unit as the source of local authority. Previously both

production and administration -- except in the few urban areas -- have been tied to the country's nine main tribes, which were easily controlled by the colonial government. Now village administration will be reorganized into elected people's committees and agriculture reorganized so that producers work in cooperatives under the direction of the local party.

The elimination of tribalism and the switch to a "people's democracy" is a radical one and the Frelimo leadership is trying hard to make it a smooth and fast one -- again for both ideological and practical reasons.

Currently Mozambique is economically reliant on South African and Rhodesian use of its ports and railways, and South African employment of Mozambican mineworkers. Through these ties South Africa provided about 75 percent of Mozambique's foreign exchange.

The new government is determined to become economically independent, and agriculture is one of the chief means to this goal. Although agriculture has provided 80 percent of Mozambique's exports, the system is drastically underdeveloped. Only 17 percent of the territory's fertile land is cultivated, and mainly for subsistence farming. Through the encouragement of new cooperatives and the "collective spirit," Frelimo hopes to spur production, provide badly needed new revenue to pay off the country's exorbitant \$950 million external debt, and build a new means to economic self-reliance.

The self-administration of the cell, however, does not mean there will be no centralized administration. Quite the contrary, in a speech the Prime Minister gave in Mocuba in February he clearly defined the concept of "democracy" being installed in Mozambique: "It is important to take into account that, when we say democracy, we mean a people's democracy under the discipline of Frelimo, as opposed to anarchy and ideological liberalism. We talk of democratic centralism. Talk about democracy can compromise our policy. In the name of democracy, individuals without our objective of establishing People's Power can make their ideas prevail.

"Therefore we must be very careful when talking about democracy. When putting that idea into practice we must pay attention that democracy for us is the fulfillment of national objectives."

The transfer of "power to the people" is thus a gradual process, not happening overnight on June 25.

In explaining the current stage of "the struggle" to the Xai Xai audience the Prime Minister said Frelimo is currently "consolidating freedom and independence through organization."

"We will have to work hard to achieve real independence. The most important steps to real freedom are organization and unity, so we can produce for the future and fight any remnants of the past. You control the future," he stressed, "because you control the pace at which we organize and unite to begin this work."



Eleven thousand people had come to hear how Frelimo was giving them independence and equality now that the struggle against five-hundred years of Portuguese colonialism is over. But as the crowd learned, the struggle is just beginning. The future of Mozambique will move only as fast as the people are "revolutionized" to follow the path Frelimo has outlined for them.

LIBERATION LEADERSHIP: THE MEN BEHIND  
THE MOZAMBIQUE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

Lourenco Marques

One is an author. Three are former professors or instructors. Two are lawyers. One was a newspaper editor, another an engineer, and several are published poets.

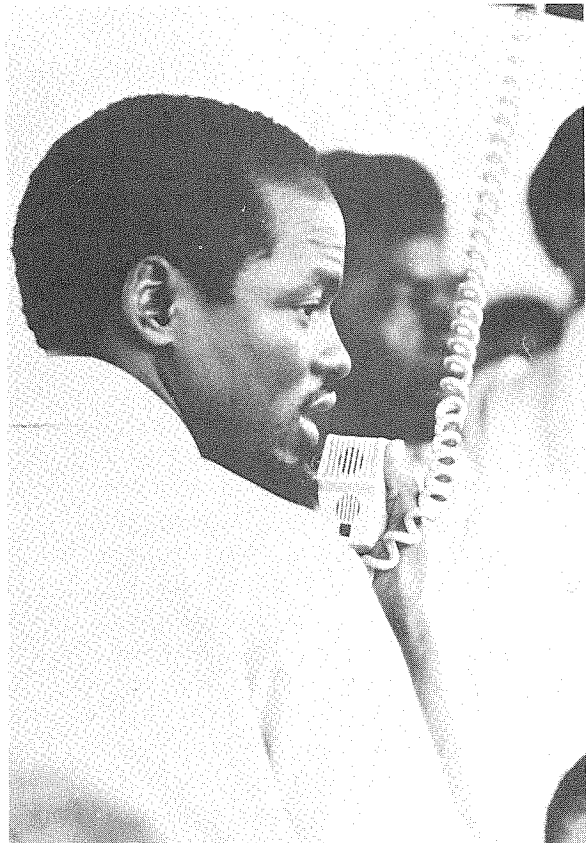
The elite of a social club? A bank's board of directors? Members of a citizens' lobby?

Hardly. These are the "militants" of Mozambique, the men who directed the guerrilla war to free the massive southeast African country from five-hundred years of Portuguese domination and who are now stepping in to form the new government.

Although known worldwide as an effective military organization, Frelimo is not yet widely recognized as an efficient political organization. Yet as the above titles suggest, there is much more behind Frelimo than a few thousand guerrillas fighting in Mozambique jungles.

In fact, since Frelimo held its second Congress -- the highest policy-making body -- in 1968 the movement has put as much emphasis on reconstruction of the liberated areas as on the guerrilla campaign. Health facilities, schools, agricultural cooperatives and judicial and administrative systems were set up in four of Mozambique's provinces. These programs -- affecting just under ten percent of the nine million population -- are a microcosm of what Frelimo must now do on a national level. Thus the leadership is not in a "guns to government" situation, but has a degree of experience in the tasks it now faces, an unusual edge for a liberation movement on the eve of independence.

In addition, Frelimo has established a sophisticated set of statutes and programs that will easily evolve into a constitution with the addition of fundamental laws. One knowledgeable foreign observer who has closely followed Frelimo since it was founded in neighboring Tanzania thirteen years ago remarked recently: "Frelimo is clearly as political as any long-established party or movement on the continent."



Joaquim Chissano



Samora Moises Machel



Armando Guebuza

There are many problems of course. First, there are clearly not enough trained and experienced men to step in. And with the massive exodus of Portuguese, there are not enough back-up civil servants to work until people can be trained. Many members of the new administration at the intermediate levels are "prison graduates" -- former political prisoners -- or lower level civil servants who were not allowed to rise under the Portuguese government. And the new government is noticeably young. Not one of the top men is over forty-five and most are in their mid-thirties. At the lower levels many are in their twenties.

The movement argues vehemently that the leadership is collective, pointing as proof to its three top policy-making bodies -- the Central Committee, Executive Committee and Political-Military Committee -- on which anywhere from nine to forty-two individuals jointly decide on issues. Yet there are only four men who serve on all three committees and a closer look at each reveals the type of people who will wield the most influence on policy matters in independent Mozambique.

### Samora Moises Machel

Despite Frelimo's claim that leadership is collective, it would be hard to deny that Samora Machel is considered the national hero and leader. His picture and the Frelimo flag are omnipresent in Mozambique -- on every storefront window, every sidewalk billboard, on twenty-foot posters at May Day celebrations, in newspapers almost daily -- and he is saluted in the score of songs, slogans and chants that are now part of all school sessions, party meetings and public rallies. Machel is probably better known at this point than Eduardo Mondlane, the father of the Mozambique revolution who in 1962 organized the many factions of the liberation movement into a united front.

Elected to the presidency in 1970, one year after Mondlane's assassination by a mail bomb on February 3, 1969, the charismatic leader's short academic career led some outsiders to question the movement's decision in light of the many more "credentialed" men available. His formal education ended after four years of primary school and until joining Frelimo in 1963 he worked as a male nurse and medical assistant in a Lourenco Marques hospital. In contrast, Mondlane had a B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. from top American universities, had taught sociology at Syracuse University, and had worked on the United Nations staff. Yet in his five years as president Machel has gained a degree of popularity and respect that makes his position unchallenged.

The lean, forty-two-year-old president's original role was purely military. Among the first cadres sent to Algeria in 1963 for guerrilla training, he set up the first Frelimo training camp upon his return to Tanzania. In 1966 he became Secretary for Defense -- making him eligible for membership on Frelimo's top three policy-making bodies -- and in 1968 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, again increasing his political as well as military responsibilities. For a year prior to his election as president he served on the Council of the Presidency that was formed after Mondlane's death, sharing office with two more



seasoned or "credentialed" men.

A man of action rather than words, Machel continued even after the war to wear his battle fatigues and eat and work among the soldiers he directed through much of the war. During the transition he spent as much time at Nachingwea, Frelimo's military headquarters in southern Tanzania, as at the Mozambique Institute, where most of the remaining hierarchy worked. His easy, almost boyish smile and "talking" eyes have given him the reputation of a comfortable and approachable leader, despite the fact that he shuns the limelight and all press interviews.

On the rare occasions he does talk to the press, the reasons for his appeal become obvious to outsiders. While intent and articulate, he is also disarmingly friendly and open, acknowledging the specifics of problems that could just as easily be left vague. He knows his facts and figures, although getting specifics about solutions is another matter. Throughout the transition the Frelimo leadership was close-mouthed about the various alternatives open to the post-independence government. They would not even disclose the date of their return to Mozambique from Dar es Salaam headquarters. When asked about the arrival -- his first trip to the capital since his departure to join Frelimo twelve years ago -- Machel's face broke into a mischievous grin, eyes twinkling, "For independence, of course." He obviously enjoys the drama of his new role.

#### Marcelino Dos Santos

Poet, Ph.D. and professional diplomat, Marcelino Dos Santos is a perfect counterpart for the rugged Machel. The neatly bearded Vice President is a quiet and methodical theorist educated in Lisbon and at the Sorbonne who has had his poetry published in French, English, Portuguese and Russian. His activism in the liberation struggle goes back the furthest of all those in the current Frelimo hierarchy, beginning when he was elected Secretary-General of the Conference of Nationalist Organizations in the Portuguese Colonies in 1961.

As a backup to Mondlane, Dos Santos played an essential role in the merger of three parties into Frelimo in 1962 and in the development of the movement into a stable force that could open up a military campaign two years later.

From 1965 to 1970 he served as Secretary for External Affairs and was highly effective in using his international reputation and contacts to rally support and funds for the growing movement. He continued the diplomatic role right through the transition period and is expected after independence to serve as Foreign Minister or representative to the United Nations or Organization of African Unity.

Although reputed to be ideologically aligned with the Soviet Union, he actually has solid contacts with both east and west. In 1970 he gained recognition from the Pope when he was received at the Vatican and given a copy of the papal encyclical Populorum Progressio on the problems of the underdeveloped world. The following year he received the Lenin

## Centenary Medal.

Although a low-key figure in contrast to the other three -- contributing to his recent shadow position -- he has often shown the depth of his feeling in poetry about the liberation struggle, even before Frelimo was founded. In 1953 Dos Santos wrote:

No  
seek me not  
in places where I don't exist.

I live  
hunched over the earth  
following the path cut by the whip  
on my naked back

I live in the harbours,  
feeding the furnaces,  
driving the machines,  
along the paths of men

I live  
in the body of my mother,  
selling her strength in  
the market place...

I live  
lost in the streets  
of a civilization  
that crushes me with hatred  
and without pity.

And if it is my voice that is heard,  
if it is I who still sing,  
It is because I cannot die,  
But only the moon hears my anguish...

## Joaquim Alberto Chissano

Slight in figure, young in age, Joaquim Chissano is hardly the figure of a statesman. Off stage he is soft-spoken, almost shy, rarely the aggressive politician, and anything but the image of the dynamic force needed to pull a new nation out of five hundred years of colonialism.

Yet in Joaquim Chissano, Mozambique has as strong and forceful a leader as there is in Africa. Of the four key figures in the new government the thirty-five-year-old Prime Minister has the most experience in both party and government matters. While Machel and Dos Santos sat out the nine-month transition period in Dar es Salaam, Chissano did the grueling legwork in Lourenco Marques -- assessing the nation's problems, negotiating with the Portuguese and organizing programs for approval in Dar es Salaam.

Chissano won the top ministerial post -- and his reputation as the most competent administrator in Frelimo -- as a result of his performance during twelve years in Dar es Salaam, where he served as Frelimo Defense Minister and Executive Secretary. In the defense post he was responsible for coordination of the ten-year guerrilla war against the much stronger Portuguese forces. In the latter role he controlled the party purse strings and decided priorities for the use of available funds. He also served as the official representative of Frelimo in Tanzania, a post of special diplomatic importance.

A moderate with no strong ideological ties to either the Soviet Union or China, Chissano is also the most pragmatic of the top four about his country's future and the necessity for compromise until Mozambique is economically self-sufficient. While Machel takes a stiff line on aiding other liberation movements, the sources of foreign aid or investment, and the farm revolution, Chissano has acknowledged the reality of the moment -- that some form of ties with South Africa will be necessary for at least the short term, that the gravely troubled economy will need any aid offered, and that the farm revolution will take time.

Although long acknowledged as the number-three man, Chissano has maintained a low profile throughout his involvement, even during his many missions abroad to explain the Front's economic, education and health programs to would-be sympathizers and potential supporters. He did not surface as a key figure until he was sent to open secret negotiations with the Portuguese in June 1974. He remained the key Frelimo negotiator throughout the talks, the talks that led to an agreement on Mozambique's independence, signed in Lusaka, Zambia last September 7. With less than one week's notice he was then selected as Prime Minister and led Frelimo's representation in the transitional government to Lourenco Marques for installment on September 20.

At the time of the investiture a European diplomat in Dar es Salaam, who had known Chissano for several years, predicted: "He will certainly not have the opportunity to construct a political base as Prime Minister during the coming nine months until independence because of the confusion he presently has to solve." Yet well before the nine months were up the energetic and charismatic figure was acknowledged to have a tight hold on the post -- and to have done sufficient work to insure a peaceful and easy transition on June 25. Songs heralding Chissano are now as common as those saluting Machel, and he is probably better known in Mozambique than Dos Santos.

Yet the agreeable, easy-going politician is not considered a threat to either of the party's top two figures, despite the fact that he offers a blend of both men's strengths. Like Machel, he is a youthful and energetic figure of immense popularity who prefers to mix with The People as much as possible. At dinners on a recent tour of the rural areas, he would sit at a table separate from other officials and chat easily and make jokes with whomever sat down. And his academic training in Lisbon and Paris -- he speaks English, Portuguese, French, Swahili and several local dialects fluently -- have won him the reputation of an intellectual.



It seems clear that Chissano prefers the secondary role and strongly supports the movement's claim that leadership is collective. He repeatedly contends that his role as Prime Minister during the transition has been merely advisory, serving as the eyes for the Dar es Salaam-based leadership. But his experience during the transition will clearly put him in an unrivaled position as the most experienced man in the new government.

### Armando Guebuza

Armando Guebuza, the boyish-looking Minister of Internal Administration and Political Commissar, is the youngest member of the top four at the age of thirty-one. Yet as a member of the top three policy-making bodies he is clearly as powerful in behind-the-scenes maneuvering. And his role in the transition government as Prime Minister Chissano's right-hand man and number two in the cabinet has made him even more important to the party -- and the future of his country.

Probably more important than his ministerial post is his role as Political Commissar, a job which puts him in charge of politicizing the masses through the "dynamization" program that organizes circles or cells for "mentalizing" people to Frelimo's policies. Diplomats and foreign observers concede he has made extraordinary progress in selling Frelimo to many segments of the nine million Mozambique population. Many feel this will be a key factor in avoiding the type of incidents at independence that troubled the new government during the transition last September and October.

As the result of several tours throughout the country during the transition period Guebuza has become a well-known and popular figure, as evidenced in the new crop of songs that salute him. Like Machel, he has a fiery charm that erupts when he gets in front of a crowd, much more so than Chissano. A master of party rhetoric, he can outline Frelimo policy in simple and appealing terms, often in local dialect, drawing wild responses from the crowds.

Behind his youthful look and easy smile is a sophisticated, hard-line theorist, perhaps the fiercest ideologist among the top four, who cleverly but firmly argues the stiffest implementation of party policy. He will startle a questioning skeptic by stating almost as fact, "You do not really believe that," or "You know better than that."

Guebuza was born in Marrupa, in the northern Nampula province, making him the only member of the four not born in the south. This could be a significant factor in dealing with the independent Macua tribe, Mozambique's largest, constituting almost one-half the population who live in the north.

The political Commissar was educated, however, in Lourenco Marques and as a youth was active as president of the African Secondary School Students' Center. At nineteen he joined Frelimo and his rise to the leadership was fast.

A poet, with works published in Portuguese, English and Russian, his poetry reflects the fierceness of his loyalty to the liberation struggle. In the mid-60s he wrote:

#### THE WAR

If you ask me  
who I am,  
with that face you see, you others,  
branded with marks of evil  
and with a sinister smile,

I will tell you nothing  
I will tell you nothing

I will show you the scars of centuries  
which furrow my black back  
I will look at you with hateful eyes  
red with blood spilled through the years  
I will show you my grass hut  
collapsed  
I will take you into the plantations where  
from dawn to after night-fall  
I am bent over the ground  
while the labor  
tortures my body with red-hot pliers

I will lead you to the fields full of people  
breathing misery hour after hour

I will tell you nothing  
I will only show you this

And then  
I will show you the sprawled bodies  
of my people  
treacherously shot  
their huts burned by your people

I will say nothing to you  
but you will know why I fight.

#### Joaquim Carvalho and Jorge Rebelo

Although neither Joaquim Carvalho nor Jorge Rebelo served as members of the transition government, both are members of Frelimo's Central and Executive Committees and have played vital behind-the-scene role for the new government. Both are men to watch for.

Jorge Rebelo, a trained lawyer and poet, directed Frelimo's highly effective propaganda campaign during the war as editor of Mozambique

Revolution and author of several other party documents. He is a quiet figure who remains in the background as much as he can, yet is known to be a key advisor to Machel. Likely to remain a party rather than government leader, his influence is certain to be felt on all major policy decisions.

The importance and appearance of Joaquim Carvalho is also certain to increase after independence. Considered by all diplomatic and party sources to be the chief economist and designer of the new government's financial programs, he will have the tough chore of pulling together Mozambique's gravely troubled economy. At independence the country will face external debts of close to \$950 million, not helped any by an acute shortage of foreign reserves.

One foreign observer who has followed Mozambique's economic status closely for five years said of Carvalho: "He is the most influential and able economist Frelimo has and his role can only increase."

#### INDEPENDENCE IN MOZAMBIQUE:

#### THE CHANGES ARE NOT JUST POLITICAL

Lourenco Marques

Filipe looked like a walking advertisement for the new government, t-shirt with the new flag stretched tightly across his chest, plastic pinkie ring also with the new flag, tiny metal chest pin engraved with the face of the national liberation movement's founder, and second-hand battle fatigue trousers once worn by the liberation army.

"Can you imagine," he asked rhetorically, almost in disbelief, "I can walk down the street like this and all I get is smiles or nods from people who share my happiness, my pride.

"Five years ago my brother was arrested and put in prison for carrying a letter, one little piece of paper, with the name of Frelimo (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) across the top of it. It was not even official. It was just a letter from a friend, although the Portuguese did not believe.

"He spent four years in prison because of that little piece of paper. And today, look," the young teenager pointed to his chest. "I can say Frelimo all I want and no one will do anything to me." He was beaming.

Filipe's attire is not an unusual sight on the streets of Lourenco Marques. There are many adults as well as youths who sport the new "Frelimo fashion," from the variety of chest pins to clothing splashed

with slogans or pictures of the Frelimo president Samora Machel and the army green caps, jackets or satchels used by the Frelimo army.

As the curtain goes up on independence in Mozambique there are some dramatic changes in the sets and props on the stage of this southeast African country. Although Portuguese colonialists had penetrated this territory for five hundred years, it took but a few short months for Mozambicans to shed many of the trademarks of the colonial era.

The nine-month interim period between Portuguese rule and the complete takeover by Frelimo on June 25 has clearly served as a transition for more than the government. Every aspect of life in Mozambique reflects the political change -- from fashion to school curricula to the media.

Walking down the streets of Lourenco Marques, Filipe pointed to some of the changes. "Look, I can now buy a book on Marx or Lenin," he said as he peered into a bookstore window. "And there's something on the pan-African movement, even a dictionary of the geographic names of Mozambique, the proper names, the ones we gave the streets and cities and plazas before the Portuguese renamed everything after their own discoverers, leaders and military personnel."

In front of the bookstore there was a billboard, one of the many that have sprouted from the city pavements since an agreement was signed last September 7 granting independence to Mozambique on June 25.

"At least half the businesses in the city have these," the black youth explained. "Each provides a little news, pictures and some stories on how that business relates to Mozambique culture or maybe things about what workers hope to do within their companies.

"Newspapers, they are the same way. We no longer read just news about Portugal but about the victories of our brothers in the liberation movements in Vietnam and Cambodia, about developments in Tanzania or Zambia and other African countries.

"We can hear news now on the radio about Zimbabwe and Namibia. They are no longer referred to as Rhodesia or South West Africa, you know," he almost smirked. "Fantastic," he shook his head, smiling.

Next to the bookstore was one of the many sidewalk cafes that are scattered throughout the city. "See, women," he pointed to some of the cafe's customers sipping coffee and watching passersby.

"One of the basic goals of Frelimo is equality of women, a real change from the chauvinistic Portuguese way of life. There are not that many of them yet, but it's a beginning. You used never to see women asserting themselves, black or white. Only men used to sit here. Really," he said with emphasis.

A friend named Marcus approached and interrupted the conversation with some "startling" news. "Do you know what docked today?" he asked, referring to the Lourenco Marques harbor, the second busiest port in Africa.



Before allowing time for an answer, he said, "A Russian ship. A huge Soviet ship. That's a first. They say the port isn't as busy as it was under the Portuguese, but you just wait until after independence. They will all be here, all of our friends."

The conversation turned to school, about which both youths expressed some unexpected enthusiasm. "It's much more interesting now. We don't just learn about Portugal or when the Portuguese came, like how Vasco da Gama 'discovered' Mozambique in 1498 or about Lourenco Marques' arrival in 1544," Marcus said.

When asked about specifics he elaborated: "History is about Frelimo, about Mozambique. The dates we learn are June 25, 1962 [Frelimo's founding], September 25, 1964 [launching of Frelimo military operation], February 3, 1969 [assassination of Frelimo founder Eduardo Mondlane by a mail bomb], April 25, 1974 [Portugal's coup], September 7, 1974 [signing of Lusaka agreement on Mozambique independence] and September 20, 1974 [investiture of transition government]," he rattled off with pride.

"I can care about something that means something to me, when it's about my country, not someplace 10,000 miles away," Marcus added.

"Everyone is learning these days, it seems," Filipe interjected. "My school is even busier at nights now than it is in the days with adults who didn't go to school or young people who work during the day getting instruction under the alphabetization program. The electricity bill must be huge," he laughed.

Asked if there were any changes that had taken place during the transition that displeased them, Marcus offered: "Sure there are plenty of things that are affected because of the problems we face.

"My mother is complaining all the time about the things she can't get at the store, like soup or mayonnaise or brown sugar. And my father can't get foreign cigarettes. I have a friend who wanted to buy a bottle of foreign brandy for a special occasion. He ended up buying it by the glass at a hotel. Cost him \$22."

Mozambique's imports have recently been twice the amount it is able to export and the current shortage of foreign exchange led the new government to put a "graded" ban on imports, depending on necessity.

"Transportation is tough too," Filipe said. "The buses are jammed since half the taxis, owned mainly by Portuguese, have left. You even see whites on the buses these days. They get tired of waiting an hour or more for a ride.

"And if you want to go outside the city it takes twice as long because of all the roadblocks. You have to check with Frelimo soldiers every few miles, it seems. I understand why of course. But it is time consuming and annoying to even those of us who want Frelimo to take over."

"I'd hate to get really sick now," Marcus added. "There are no doctors anywhere. And I can't afford to go to Swaziland or South Africa, like the whites can, to get medical attention." As a result of the mass exodus by 103,000 Portuguese, officials now claim there are only about fifty certified doctors left to serve a population of nine million.

"But things will work out," Filipe said optimistically. "The people in this country are so happy to be free of Portuguese restrictions, not to have to worry about the DGS or PIDE [secret police] spies watching our every move, that we can endure it. The spirit of freedom will carry us through these first rough moments."

The boys got ready to leave. "We have to get to the May Day celebration," Filipe explained. "It's the first we've had here in Mozambique. The first of many."

#### FRELIMO AT MOCUBA:

#### A LIBERATION MOVEMENT SHOWS ITS FORCE

Lourenco Marques

Liberation forces fought a bitter ten-year guerrilla war to free Mozambique of five hundred years of Portuguese domination, a goal realized with full independence for the southeast African country on June 25. But according to officials of the new government, the struggle is far from over.

At a strangely unheralded convention of party "militants" at Mocuba in February, Frelimo (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) came out in strong language about the tasks before it, indicating the future is anything but rosy and that the party will have to take stiff measures to insure long-term independence in Mozambique.

The convention of over 1,000 district officials -- not reported fully in the local press until mid-April -- was the most important meeting since the movement's second Congress six years ago. It was a performance that revealed Frelimo as perhaps the most organized political party anywhere in Africa on the eve of an independence, with clear intentions of spreading its monopoly hold on the country's political development.

In his keynote address, Prime Minister Joaquim Chissano revealed the party's deep concern about the current "phase of desperate struggle between the revolutionary and reactionary forces.

"It is a phase when the enemy already uses more subtle tactics to continue the exploitation of man by man and the oppression of the Mozambique people. This activity is quite clear through the maneuvering

of certain groups doing everything to create confusion, insecurity and panic.

"It is not only through armed attack that the enemy operates," he continued. "Today, we have speculation in foodstuffs and other essential products, pillaging of natural resources, various forms of economic sabotage, and even acts of scorched earth."

The Prime Minister said that the goal of the meeting was to confront these problems, "so when we leave here we can really proceed with the task of loyal stimulation, creating structures to prevent the infiltration in party ranks and the preparation of imperialism to sabotage the revolution."

The structure Chissano referred to is a pyramid system of party committees at the national, provincial, district and local levels. At the core is the cell or circle, a small group of people gathered from either residential or work areas. A secretariat of seven -- elected by members -- administers the unit.

The current stage of development is the organization of "dynamic groups" for the "mentalization" of members to the policies of the party in preparation for becoming local cells or higher level committees.

Frelimo's main concerns, as expressed at the convention, are that the "dynamization program" is not moving fast enough and that "reactionary" elements are infiltrating the cells. The Mocuba convention accordingly recommended:

"Since the people's power is not fully consolidated among the masses, the conversion of the dynamic groups into committees is premature. Political work is not sufficiently deeply rooted...and a lack of political cadres is evident.

"Political indoctrination and formation of dynamic groups must be intensified through the country, with special emphasis on the farm and border areas." (Mozambique shares a long part of its border with South Africa and Rhodesia, countries with white-minority governments.)

Specifically, party agents will be dispatched to both rural and urban areas to form new dynamic groups. And seminars are to be set up for militants to further increase their level of political consciousness.

To insure "political purity" among members. the Mocuba delegates also recommended four steps:

1. Dynamic groups will undertake investigations of anyone applying for Frelimo membership at his place of residence and work to check on past political affiliations and conduct.
2. A "purge campaign" will be started to "detect, denounce and expel" infiltrators and reactionaries.

3. Reports will be submitted by dynamic groups to committee headquarters as a means of checking on the correct evolution of political awareness. Also, the practices of dynamic group members will be examined to determine whether they deviate from the principles of Frelimo.
4. The selection of leaders at all levels must be the responsibility of those who are conformed "militants" and have proven their dedication to party policies.

The convention also specified just what actions are considered deviations from party policy and thus grounds for denying membership in the cells. Among them:

- Tribal tendencies, regionalism or racism.
- Arrogance of knowledge.
- Use of strikes to create economic chaos.
- Economic sabotage, such as unjustified dismissal of workers.
- Criticism outside the structures of dynamic groups.
- Destructive criticism within dynamic groups.
- Hoarding of basic commodities.
- Denial of credit to trading and industrial firms by banks or large corporations.

These are stiff measures for a party to take, considering the convention met only five months after Frelimo moved into Mozambique as part of a nine-month transition government. Foreign observers had acknowledged that the organization -- which prefers to be called a front rather than a party -- has made "extraordinary" progress in publicizing its aims and rallying people for participation in dynamic groups, especially since the nine million population is 80 percent illiterate and widely spread out in rural areas.

But Frelimo obviously does not agree. Complete acceptance of the front's policies must be insured before Mozambique will be "free," according to the convention. As the Prime Minister said in his speech:

"It is important to take into account that, when we say democracy, we mean a people's democracy under the discipline of Frelimo, as opposed to anarchy and ideological liberalism. We talk of democratic centralism.

"Talk about democracy can compromise our policy. In the name of democracy individuals without our objective of establishing the people's power can make their ideas prevail....

"Democracy for us is the discipline of the party. Democracy for us is the fulfillment of national objectives."

Frelimo is taking a firm line to insure that the incidents sparked by opposition forces last September and October, resulting in two riots



in Lourenco Marques and a number of deaths, will not happen again. The means of dissent are now limited to constructive criticism within the structure of the cell or committee. And anyone openly critical of the front or its policies will not be allowed to participate.

At the moment there are no visible signs of organized opposition in Mozambique. Most leaders have fled or been retained. But Frelimo clearly wants to guarantee that there will be no opposition -- external or internal -- to its program to politically "liberate" the nation now that the military battle is over.

#### WHITE FACES IN A BLACK CROWD: WILL THEY STAY?

Lourenco Marques

Rita moaned. "What am I supposed to do? I want to stay in Mozambique. My family, my home, my work are here. But I am afraid. I don't know of what specifically. I guess the possibilities.

"I am afraid there will be many cases of reverse racism, no matter what the government says. I know the intentions are good. I believe Frelimo supports multi-racialism, or nonracialism, as they say. But the masses don't see it that way yet.

"To them independence means recognition for those who were oppressed. In other words, the blacks. I don't blame them. I'd be the same way if I were in their position. But I'm not. What would you do?"

That is a question many Portuguese are trying to answer as the Portuguese government officially ends five hundred years of colonial domination with the independence of Mozambique on June 25.

At least one-half the white population has already chosen to find new homes elsewhere, mainly in Portugal, South Africa and Brazil. According to the Portuguese High Commission, at least 103,000 have fled from Mozambique since January 1973, leaving anywhere from 70,000 to 100,000 in this southeast African country of nine million. Illegal emigration and "vacationing" whites have made exact figures impossible to obtain.

Of the 103,000, about 30,000 left in 1973 as the ten-year war between Frelimo guerrillas and Portuguese troops spread further south. Between January 1974 and the military takeover in Lisbon on April 25, another 20,000 left.

The main exodus came after September 1974, when two white-initiated incidents frightened the remaining white community. In September, white extremists seized a Lourenco Marques radio station in an abortive bid to prevent Frelimo from coming to power. White mobs roamed the

town and many Africans were killed.

In October, Portuguese soldiers picked a fight with Frelimo guerrillas in the main district of the capital city, sparking a gun battle that led to the deaths of an estimated 47 whites. Fearing a backlash, at least 52,000 have since left.

Although things have been peaceful since then and few now anticipate trouble at independence or immediately afterwards, many are still afraid.

The new government has long maintained that Mozambique will be a multi-racial state. As Prime Minister Joaquim Chissano said recently:

"It is not color that exploits and oppresses people, it is a system. Color alone does not divide. It is ideas, not color, that count, and anyone who has the right ideas, who wants to work, is welcome to stay.

"Frelimo fought to establish equality, so we will not refuse equality to those who refused it to us. We need everyone for the work ahead of us."

But words are not enough to soothe the fears of many of the whites remaining in Mozambique. As a Lourenco Marques businessman explained:

"The Portuguese said they would never leave us too. But they sold us out last September [when the agreement to give Mozambique independence was signed] without any warning. Overnight everything changed. Who says it won't happen again?

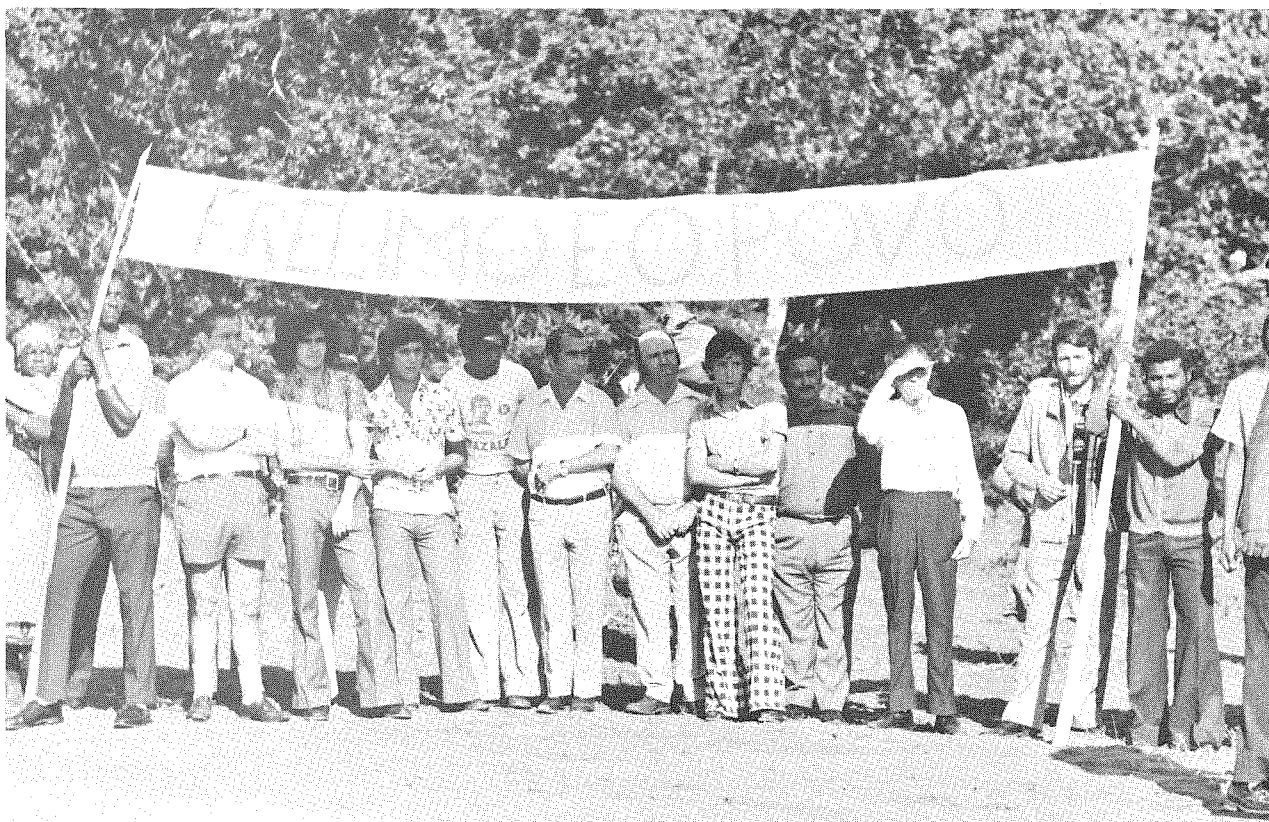
"They [the new government] need us now. But what about when [black] people are trained for our positions? Look at every other African country. Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda -- they all promised multi-racial societies. But how often do you see whites in governments there? And 'Africanization' programs have led to nationalization of companies all over the continent. What kind of future do I have here?"

Many of the whites, especially the younger generations, feel they definitely will play a crucial part in the years ahead and intend to stay. "What do we have to fear -- equality?" queried Cesar, a young steward for Deta, Mozambique's airline. Few have yet joined Frelimo's "dynamization" programs, the cells formed to "mentalize" the people to Frelimo policies, but they say they support them in theory.

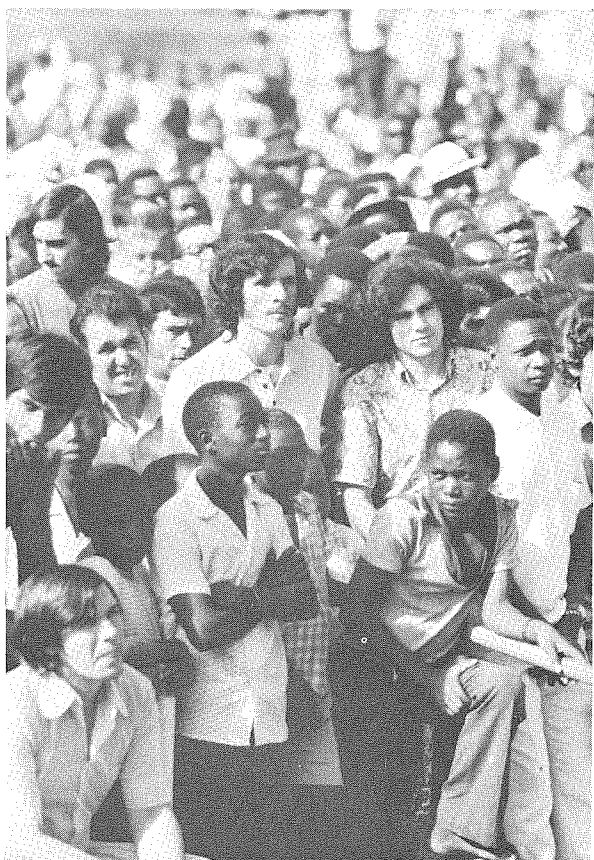
"Things will change, sure. But many of the changes are probably overdue. We never did anything to help the poor because we did not have to. No one really forcefully encouraged it, so we did nothing," Cesar explained.

"I'm just as scared as anyone of losing the material advantages I've had. But in my conscience I can not fight it."

The fear has so far been mainly expressed by the older generations. "Most of my friends plan to stay," the steward said. "It's our parents



"Frelimo is for the People."  
Does that include the Portuguese? These men may be wondering.



Many second- or third-generation Portuguese consider themselves Mozambicans.

who talk about leaving. They were comfortable under the Portuguese, whether they liked the government or not."

Rita's reaction explains much of the dilemma: "No, I don't think there will ever be any overt action against us. It's the by-products of 'the revolution' that worry me.

"My children, for example, they won't have the quality education any more, partly because many of the trained teachers have left, and partly because the new schools will be geared to the masses, who are at a much lower level.

"Already the subjects have changed from world history to Frelimo's history -- the war, writings of their leaders, and the independence agreement. That's fine to learn more about Mozambique. But Mozambique and Frelimo are not all there is to the world.

"And when they finish school, what will job prospects be? Will they have equal opportunities? Or will the government and businesses want to put in as many of those who were formerly oppressed, the blacks, as possible? I don't have the answers to those questions. It's not my life I must think about, it's theirs too," explained the middle-aged mother of four.

Reverse racism came up again. "I worry about the subtle harrassment too. It could make life uncomfortable. Maybe my husband's store will be boycotted for the new black-run businesses. Already my house servants are being arrogant, and sometimes not even showing up. I don't dare fire them. Dismissing people looks bad in Frelimo's eyes. They call it economic sabotage. I'm stuck."

Some charge that the "subtle harrassment" has already started. Antonio, a self-employed filmmaker, told of one such incident:

"This morning I was rudely awakened by a Frelimo soldier. He told me he had a watch but no band and wanted 100 escudos (\$4) to buy a band.

"Now, I thought, I could easily call the authorities and he would be punished, as Frelimo tends to take a stiff line about such activities. But I also know that after independence, after June 25, that fellow would remember me and my house if he didn't get what he wanted. And then what? I'm a coward. I don't want trouble. I don't want them to think I'm against the new government. I want to stay here in peace. So I gave him 20 escudos (80 cents) and he left."

The concerns expressed by Rita and the businessman are generally the two main questions most of the white community asks:

Short term: how will the masses react to independence? Blacks and whites acknowledge that Frelimo's politicalization programs (sometimes called orientation, sometimes called indoctrination) may not be sufficiently widespread during the first year -- or years -- to insure



the masses will understand the new government's emphasis on multi-racialism.

"Nine months [the transition period] is not very long when you have to reach nine million people," a young Frelimo official conceded.

"And who says a politicalization program can prevent a reaction to a system that has lasted a lifetime?" worried a white high school teacher. "For example, as part of the united society campaign, Frelimo talks about the need to eliminate myths and superstitions that were the basis of tribal life. But these people do not recognize the creeds of their lives as 'superstition' or 'myth.'"

"Besides, you do not just say 'no longer believe in these things' and expect them immediately to accept whole new systems. What if you said to Christians, 'No longer believe in Christ or his teachings. Hah. It does not work that way.

"You have to give them some alternative. Unfortunately, what is taught is often too abstract for many of them. All this philosophy is not tangible yet."

Long term: will the small one percent white population slowly be phased out of their jobs, homes and other material advantages they have traditionally held, as has been the case in many African countries?

"It would not be outright," a Portuguese-born banker predicted. But maybe we will not be allowed to make the money needed to maintain our lifestyle. We could elsewhere, so what is the reason to stay here?"

The new government has tried to alleviate these concerns through specific actions as well as strong declarations. Recently Frelimo agreed to allow many whites in key government and business positions to deposit 25 percent of their incomes in foreign banks, as an incentive to stay. And already several sources both inside and outside the government estimate that 15 percent of the new faces in government are white.

The government has also quietly welcomed back the estimated 250 white Mozambican exiles who have returned from Portugal, Brazil, South Africa, Rhodesia and other European countries. Many more are expected after independence.

Both government and Portuguese sources agree that there is greater hope for an integrated society in Mozambique because of the long history of Portuguese presence. The Portuguese represent an unusual case of colonialism in Africa. In the majority of countries, the settler communities date back only to the early 1900s, since most of the continent was divided up by European powers after 1850.

But the Portuguese presence dates back almost 500 years, to Vasco da Gama's "discovery" of the area in 1498. Lourenco Marques brought the first whites to the southeast African country in 1544. Most white

Mozambicans are at least fourth generation; many go back farther than current residents can trace. They often have no formal or familial ties with Portugal beyond the language.

In fact, some whites contend that being born in Mozambique made them "second-class Portuguese." One young white engineer explained:

"Many of us are just as happy to get rid of the Portuguese government and their people. They always acted superior, mixing only among themselves, as if being born here made us less important, as if we had less potential than those from Lisbon. Now I can be proud of my place of birth."

The current feeling among most Portuguese and foreign observers is that the mass exodus has ended. "Those who wanted to leave are gone. The rest will probably stay," a foreign diplomat suggested.

For many the decision to remain appears to be voluntary. Others say it would now be difficult to depart even if they wanted to.

"Our money is worthless elsewhere. One million escudos would not buy a bandaid outside Mozambique," a white hotel manager said. "And visas are now very difficult to obtain, except to Portugal."

South Africa, one of the main alternatives, drastically cut back on visas in the months just before independence. Although the white-minority government backed the Portuguese during the war, it now wants to establish good relations with Frelimo because of the strong economic ties with Mozambique, involving railways, ports, mineworkers and hydro-electric power sources. Indirectly offering a refuge for potential refugees is not a way to stabilize the situation in its neighboring nation.

But equally important is the question of where to move. "I don't know where I'd go if I had to," an architect commented. "Portugal has its own problems. And I probably couldn't find employment there. Going to Angola is asking for trouble. And in South Africa or Rhodesia there is a language barrier. Besides, there may be trouble in both places eventually."

Most contend they will stay in Mozambique, despite qualms. The attitude was summed up by a white geologist: "I want to be part of the new Mozambique. I want to see it work. I believe what Frelimo wants is right. But until I see whether it works I am going to keep my Portuguese passport -- just in case."

## THE ART OF INDEPENDENCE

Lourenco Marques

Fernando Sumbana has no easel or palate. He has never had an art teacher or professional guidance since his school did not offer even finger painting. He has seen but one piece of art from outside his country -- a copy of a Picasso; Rembrandt, Vermeer, El Greco, Monet are but foreign names to him. Canvas is unavailable and brushes are scarce.

Yet three years ago the sweet-faced young Mozambican student decided he wanted to try to paint. "Pictures were forming in my head," he says in halting, heavily-accented English. "Things I looked at had messages in them."

So he set out to obtain equipment to see if he could make real the images in his head. The beginning was almost the end. His gentle smile broadens and eyes twinkle as he tells the story.

"The oils were thick and ugly at first. I was frustrated. I did not know what was wrong so I talked to an artist here. He said I shouldn't paint because I don't understand the medium. He said I am a foolish man. But he told me about thinner." He lifted the clear little bottle as if it were a prize.

"Thinner made the oils smooth and I could work again," he grinned shyly. Since then the twenty-year-old artist, a member of Mozambique's southern Changane tribe, has worked in his free hours from studies at Lourenco Marques' Commercial Institute to bring together the oils and the images.

The results, in brilliant colors and bold strokes, have already made him one of the country's most promising artists. The new government in this southeast African country took most of Sumbana's paintings after his first one-man show for display in government offices and city centers. One picture is being used as print for cloth. And people throughout the city talk about his work.

Thinner did not bring all the answers, however. Sumbana originally could afford only five colors -- black, white, blue, red, and yellow -- so he had to learn how to mix colors, especially for the sensuous brown figures that dominate his works. He points to his "palate," a small square disintegrating styrofoam sheet once used for packaging, to show his progress. It is a rainbow of richness, almost a picture in itself.

The subjects of his paintings also provided problems. "I see misery in the world and I try to paint it. I don't know why. I can't draw flowers or people playing," he explains. His highly symbolic pictures, distorted, grotesquely haunting and vivid, portray the desperation of poverty, the restrictions on people living under colonial rule, the

horror and ugliness of fear.

The subjects were controversial and dangerous to display during his first two years as an artist, when the Portuguese were still colonial administrators of Mozambique. It was a period of added tension because of the guerrilla war in the northern third of the country between Portuguese troops and the "liberation army" of Frelimo.

His first work, for example, depicted the evils and oppression of colonialism. A single black man, "the blood of the people" oozing through his oversized, outstretched hands, glares from a massive single eye at the viewer. Chains, cuffs and knives -- the literal and symbolic consequences of oppression -- dangle ominously in the dark background.

"I could not tell the real meaning. I was afraid the government would arrest me," he says, in one of the few moments of seriousness. "So I said it was about the evils of thieving and murder."

Since the April 1974 coup in Lisbon that eventually led to an agreement for independence in Mozambique, Sumbana has become more outspoken in his subject matter. There is also a slight shift in emphasis. Previously centered on the misery and problems of the world, some of his recent works offer hope, reflecting more specifically some of the solutions for Mozambique offered by the new Frelimo government, for which Sumbana works as a volunteer in his off-school hours.

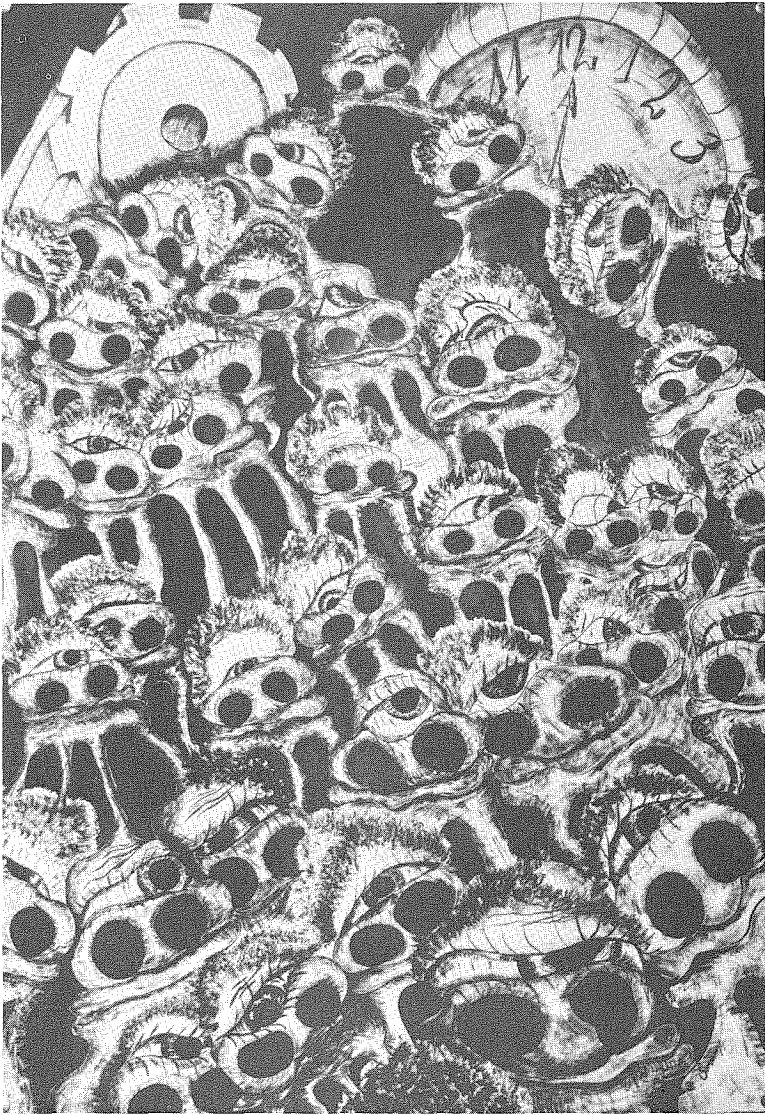
For example, Frelimo is planning to expand the country's small agricultural base by developing collective farms throughout the fertile country. In severe economic trouble, Mozambique must provide employment and new products for export to break from its economic dependence on South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal. The new government believes the development of agriculture and small related industries is the first major step on that path.

Sumbana's recent work portrays this goal with simple poignancy. One oil shows a Mozambique family looking over an uncultivated field -- into the future -- at a glaring red sun, "the sun of revolution," Sumbana says. A dull gray gear lying in the corner symbolized development.

Another dealing specifically with Mozambique shows a bulbously exaggerated pregnant woman preparing gifts and toys for her unborn child. Her expression is painful, the joy of expectancy shows through too. "We are like the pregnant woman," Sumbana explains. "We also went through a nine-month transition period [literally, the transition government of joint Frelimo-Portuguese forces ruled from September 1974 until June 1975] of both pain and joy. She is in transition, ready to born a new life, and we are also bearing new life with our independence."

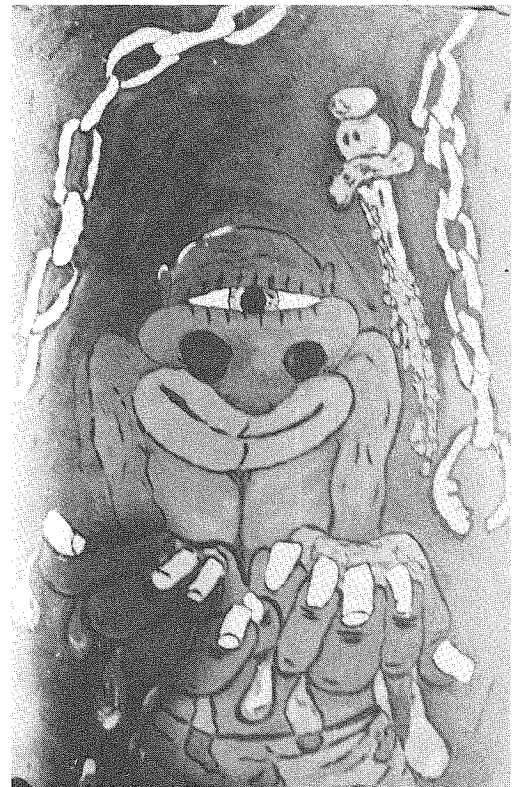
The symbolism of these works is straightforward, not with the sophisticated subtlety found in his early works of broader themes. In a soft





Untitled work on the unstoppable growth and danger of gossip and rumor.

Sumbane's first painting, on the oppression of colonialism.





Untitled work on the African's dependence on religion.



Untitled work on the evils of prostitution.

voice, frequently interrupted to check a word in his Portuguese-English dictionary, he explains the earlier oil or ink drawings:

The picture of a prostitute, distorted and grotesque in shape and the faceless crowd of men surrounding her huge head and full breasts, which appear to hang over the picture into the viewer's lap; her lust for money and the moment rather than meaning; the destructiveness of her "pleasurable talent."

The pure and passionate love of a poor mother for her growing young child, who stands sucking milk from his mother's breast, the only gift she can give him.

The material obsession of the western world, symbolized by bulging buildings and bulging people, so full yet so empty.

The dependency on religion -- the first means of colonizing and "subduing" the African continent -- by a man who waits for the floating spirits in the background of his haunting, desperate face to do things for him, rather than moving to help himself.

Sumbana speaks unhesitatingly and almost eloquently about his work, in a way that surprises his English teacher at the Institute -- a white Portuguese woman -- who claims he never speaks in class. Later he indirectly offers an explanation.

"It was hard to express ourselves when the Portuguese were here, for fear of arrest or detention. There was no freedom to speak about our problems or our poverty. To be for Frelimo was against the law. I painted because I wanted to, but also because I had to. It was the only way to express what I was thinking, what I was seeing."

That explanation is common among the former colony's artists, from noted painters like Malagatana and sculptors like Alberto Chissano to lesser-known figures, like Sumbana. Exposure to world art was hardly the prime inspiration since there is no art museum in the country, little experience offered in schools, and few books on the subject -- especially for poor black families.

As Sumbana said, "I have seen only one print from an artist outside of Mozambique. It was a Picasso. It was beautiful. I want to see more, somehow."

He may not see more "world art" soon, but the exposure to local artists has already increased. The small but growing artists' community is getting active encouragement from the new government. Several exhibits of "ethnic art" are being set up throughout the country. Walls of business and government offices are increasingly splashed with the bright colors of Mozambican artists. Even the colonial monuments to Portuguese explorers and officials have been torn down and will be replaced with sculpture and monuments to Mozambique and Frelimo figures.



As a result, the young painter says many of his colleagues have also shifted their subject matter. "We are free now to draw and paint and write what we want. Anything," he adds with emphasis. "I still see misery in the world. But the new freedom here, that is the first sign of hope. The spirit and soul of the Mozambique people were liberated with independence and it shows now. There is pride expressed now. Before it was fear."

Commercial benefits of the creative arts are never mentioned as a motive. Most of Sumbana's works have been given away, mainly to Frelimo. He acts surprised when asked why he does not sell them. "They are seen now, more than if they were in houses. That is better for them."

His balled, tight navy blue sweater, sleeves ending just below the elbows, reveals his poverty. He wants to continue his studies at a university, preferably in economics, but money is a problem. His only immediate concern about income is to have enough to buy more oils and the tackboard on which he paints, since canvas is either unavailable or too expensive. He has kept only two of his paintings; a small incomplete photo album is the only trace of his progress.

It does not occur to him to keep his work. "This is the way I've learned to express myself. This is the way I speak. I want others to listen through my paintings, to understand our problems. And now," he adds with a smile, "perhaps also to see that there are, for the first time, some answers for us."

#### INDEPENDENT MOZAMBIQUE:

##### BEHIND THE RHETORIC, THE PROGRAM IS PRAGMATIC

Lourenco Marques

The statues to Portugues heroes have been torn down and carted to a city junkyard. The complicated new red-green-yellow-black-white flag now flies proudly from new poles on every corner throughout the capital. Most streets and cities have been renamed for Mozambican figures or reverted back to their original tribal titles. And black soldiers carrying Russian rifles have replaced Portuguese soldiers with western arms in city barracks and on the streets.

The message is clear. After nearly five hundred years under Portuguese rule, the southeast African nation of Mozambique is making a clean break from its colonial past.

But the message -- as delivered by new President Samora Machel on several occasions since the June 25 independence celebration -- is not

the ruling medium in the newly-declared People's Republic of Mozambique. For, despite the firmly Marxist tones of most government declarations, Africa's 43rd independent state is far more pragmatic than its leaders' rhetoric might indicate.

On all the major questions, officials of the new Frelimo government have not yet answered with the radical solutions expected by neighboring nations and foreign observers. These include: application of sanctions against Rhodesia; pressure on South Africa to alter its apartheid laws; development of natural resources; stabilizing a shaky and debt-ridden economy; and establishing badly-needed social services for its nine million population.

The reason: Frelimo recognizes that economic realities may have to take priority over political options -- at least for the short term.

In debt for approximately \$950 million and without any substantial foreign reserves to buy vital imports, the new government must rely on outsiders to explore and exploit the rich mineral deposits in the north and provide capital and equipment for agricultural development. Through expanded agricultural production and new mineral exploitation Mozambique hopes to offer new exports to help straighten out the messy financial situation it inherited from the Portuguese.

In other words, the need for money may be more important than the absolute implementation of Marx right now.

This is most clearly indicated in Mozambique's tolerance and continued relations with the white minority regimes of its two neighbors -- South Africa and Rhodesia. Although the consulates of both countries were closed by June 23, business relations continued after independence through small trade delegations.

It has also been reported that Mozambique will send an unprecedented number of mineworkers to South Africa this fall. And earlier this year, when minor cases of labor unrest were reported among Mozambican mineworkers in South Africa, Frelimo officials quickly intervened. The South African employer involved commented later: "Obviously, they didn't want things to go to pot. They have a pragmatic approach."

South Africans do not now even need visas to visit their socialist neighbors, probably so that Lourenco Marques' \$6 million annual tourist trade will not decline any further. Air Rhodesia and South African Airways continue their frequent flights into Beira and Lourenco Marques. And, perhaps of more importance to the ordinary South African, the giant Mozambique prawns are still shipped to South African restaurants.

The stiff measures against South Africa and Rhodesia called for by a convention of the Organization of African Unity in April -- for which President Machel was a key lobbyist -- led many to believe Mozambique at Independence would shut its doors to any business with Rhodesia and cut back as far as possible with South Africa. But so far,



Mozambique has moved slowly -- if at all. Steps are certain to be taken against Rhodesia if constitutional talks break down, but observers feel little will be done to change relations significantly with South Africa for several years.

Instead, business with South Africa may actually increase, as the mine-workers situation indicates -- again at least for the short term. One South African businessman, for example, approached a leading member of the transition government about a project involving South African capital, technology and supervisory personnel and was given the green light. He later said he expected each approach would be considered according to its merits -- not necessarily its backers. American and Japanese firms have also traveled to Lourenco Marques to discuss plans with Frelimo officials.

In the past, about 45 percent of the Mozambique GNP came from services -- involving mineworkers, transport facilities and hydroelectric power -- to the white south. This cooperative spirit may continue if one part of the new national budget is any indication. The chief expenditure is to be approximately \$165 million for ports and railway improvements, which means mainly the links with South Africa and Rhodesia, although some money may also be spent for strengthened transport ties with Zambia, Malawi and southern Zaire.

The giant Cabora Bassa in northern Mozambique, the world's fourth largest hydroelectric dam, will be turned on as scheduled in October, giving 90 percent of its power to South Africa's northern Transvaal region. Even during the ten-year guerrilla war against Portuguese troops, Frelimo never made any effort to sabotage the project, despite the fact it "controlled" the area as part of the "liberated" zone. Also, since Frelimo does not have the trained personnel necessary to operate the dam, it is recruiting foreigners from countries not considered its closest allies, including France and West Germany.

The acceptance of economic realities over political options, however, does not by any means indicate that Mozambique will not act against Rhodesia. As President Machel has said, "The struggle in Zimbabwe" -- the African name for Rhodesia -- "is our struggle."

Since no action was taken immediately at independence, observers expect Mozambique to use its ports and railways -- through which Rhodesia ships 80 percent of its exports -- as leverage against the Ian Smith government. In other words, Frelimo may threaten to close its transport facilities to force the white regime to compromise with black nationalists.

Again Frelimo's pragmatism shows through. The cutback would mean a loss of at least \$50 million in revenues and, perhaps more importantly, the idling of a sizable labor force. Since the United Nations and British Commonwealth countries have pledged financial compensation, the delay in action may also be attributable to the fact that Frelimo needs time to find ways to channel these workers into new jobs and prevent the irritation that could develop into political opposition.

That the economic issues will temper Frelimo's firmly Marxist political line has actually been clear from the beginning. President Machel may have pleased his socialist allies on Independence Day by angrily declaring that "exploitation is an evil and noxious tree which we have not yet uprooted," forcing the new government to "launch an ideological offensive to wipe out the colonial and capitalist mentality." But the small print interspersed in the rhetoric was not as adamant.

Acknowledging that the "economic and financial situation is catastrophic," Machel said that its solution required "a cool-headed analysis, sector by sector....We are not hysterical revolutionaries. The ten-year war tempered us."

Specifically, Mozambique will continue to recognize private property, as long as it is developed in the interests of the state. And new foreign investment will be "encouraged" within "guidelines" laid down by Frelimo. Although agricultural land and natural resources technically now belong to the state, the only areas so far nationalized by the government are the farms abandoned by fleeing Portuguese. There has been no mention of massive nationalization of industry and observers now expect only certain key operations -- such as cashew and sugar processing plants -- will be taken over soon, and probably with compensation.

Such pragmatism shows Frelimo's realism and flexibility. But it is also important to note that pragmatism may only be the policy for the short term -- ten, maybe fifteen years -- until the country can stand on its own two feet financially.

Mozambique has enormous potential and once tapped, political priorities may take precedence. The People's Republic is much better off, for example, than its poor neighbor and closest political friend, Tanzania, which is in desperate trouble because of the lack of resources.

Specifically, Mozambique has great possibilities in mining. Although geologists have long suspected that there were rich mineral deposits, the Portuguese never explored the possibilities. Government, diplomatic and scientific sources all now agree that "the Mozambique treasure trove is ready to be unlocked," as one geologist put it.

Among the known minerals, coal, marble, graphite, bauxite, gold and iron ore have been found in the north. For years gems, including "some of the finest tourmalines in the world" were purchased from northern mines by European buyers who kept quiet about the source. And government sources say there is evidence that the rich Katanga-Zambia copper belt stretches into the northwest province of Tete.

There is both alluvial and reef gold in central Mozambique, as well as masonite and asbestos. In the south there are proved reserves of one trillion cubic feet and estimated reserves of three trillion cubic feet of natural gas, a resource Mozambique currently imports.

Agriculture is another area of great potential. A very fertile land, farmers currently cultivate less than 17 percent of the territory, and mainly for subsistence farming. Yet this tiny sector provides some 80 percent of the export revenues. The new government has already committed itself to the creation of an agriculture-based economy that will make full use of the nation's potential.

But even the possibility of a solvent financial situation in Mozambique should not necessarily worry South Africans. The "Frelimo machine" has impressed even diplomats from countries still not recognized by the new government with its cautious and "well thought out policies."

One observer pointed to Frelimo's activities during the transition. Officials were able to smooth life into an even keel, despite floods, famine, dock strikes, riots inspired by white racists known as the Dragons of Death, the much-rumored threat of white mercenary invasion, massive foreign currency smuggling and the exodus of trained Portuguese personnel.

"This is something South Africa should welcome," a western diplomat observed, "not fear. These are rational, thoughtful people, whatever their politics. They are not like the leaders in Angola -- or even Portugal. They are not hotheads.

"As Machel pointed out, they are not 'hysterical revolutionaries.' They have been reasonable in their dealings with Rhodesia and they probably will be with South Africa in the future, even when they pressure for change."

#### MOZAMBIQUE'S FIRST SIX MONTHS: AN ASSESSMENT

The bread lines are blocks long and meat is rationed. Agricultural production has declined dramatically despite the massive relocation of both rural and urban dwellers onto new collective farms. Technicians and professionals continue to flee the country. And growing political dissent burst into an ugly uprising in mid-December.

This is Mozambique six months into independence, a country so crippled by birth pangs that some observers now wonder whether the new militantly Marxist government that took over on June 25 will survive in the southeast African territory.

"We knew the problems would be great," a Mozambique cabinet minister said in Lusaka in November. "But it is one thing to predict them and another to face them. We definitely are struggling.

"Life is not as comfortable as it was under the Portuguese, and many of the people are not politicized enough to understand that we will

have many short-term problems in order to be strong in the long term. There must be changes in priorities and lifestyles, and such readjustment always hurts."

Whether the new government can "buy" the time to affect reorientation and realize the results remains The Question in Mozambique today -- one even insiders can not yet answer. Already there have been two expressions of restlessness: the recent uprising by four hundred army dissidents in Lourenco Marques in December, and the skirmish between civilians and the army in Beira in early November. But it is difficult to tell just how deep the dissatisfaction goes.

There is no aspect of life unaffected by the tough new government, which has attempted to radically alter the country since the Portuguese ended nearly five hundred years of colonial domination. But so far the costs are much more evident than the benefits. Among the problems:

In late December there were only thirty certified doctors to serve a population of approximately nine million. There were fifty-plus physicians at Independence, but most have since rescinded their contracts with the government after nationalization of medical services made it impossible to operate normally.

One Portuguese resident tells of going to the hospital with acute abdominal pain and being given a ticket with an appointment three weeks away. Another complained about a toothache, which due to the lack of dental services, was treated by a nurse who pulled the tooth with pliers and without anesthetic.

Educational standards have declined since the nationalization of schools, revision of curriculum, and the exodus of qualified teachers. Children at all schools now spend part of each day cultivating plots of land -- vacant lots, parks and roadside strips -- as part of the new program emphasizing agricultural development. And all subjects -- from math to literature -- now have a political orientation, which one teacher lamented made learning "obtuse. Most of my students are not sophisticated enough to understand or relate to the political message. It just confuses them."

Government restriction on imports and the decrease in agricultural production has made many foods difficult to obtain. "I eat meat only once a wee ," a United Nations staffer claimed. "The lines are long and you can get only one kilo per purchase, if there's any to buy once you get to the head of the line."

Constant checking of new identity papers and the refusal of visas to members of white Mozambique families who were sent to South Africa or Portugal for safety or to study has also made life unpleasant, especially for the small remaining Portuguese and white Mozambican community. As one former resident explained: "They haven't blatantly said the whites should leave, but recent measures make it unattractive to stay. The government has certainly made it appear that they want to get rid of the whites without saying a word." At Independence, there were an

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but also a growing point of opposition.

estimated 80,000 whites, down from approximately 200,000. But in the past six months another 15,000 to 20,000 have departed, with more expected to leave in the near future.

The most telltale signs of trouble, however, are the economic indicators: inflation and costs continue to skyrocket. Exports have slumped; thus creating a shortage of foreign exchange to pay for increasingly vital imports.

Development plans from the Portuguese era have been shelved for lack of funds and management. Housing and construction projects have all but stopped completely; many almost finished facilities stand abandoned.

Political uncertainty has led South African businessmen to keep use of the Lourenco Marques and Beira ports to a minimum. Before Independence Lourenco Marques had at least thirty ships in harbor, but now the average is seven or eight. Ore is the main export, while general cargo has been rerouted to crowded South African ports. The harbor surcharge was lowered from 30 to 15 percent in August and recently eliminated completely to encourage traffic, but with no increase thus far. Bumbling and mismanagement of both port and railway facilities also led the government to bring in South African assistance, which is now "instrumental" in running and maintaining all transport facilities, according to one foreign diplomat.

In fact, one foreign economist claims "mismanagement and incompetence is the story of the first six months of independence." Worker productivity, as a result, has generally slipped due to management inexperience. Workers' groups also have been given a voice in company policy, and there are many reports recently of demands by these "dynamization" groups for the ouster of supervisors with different personal or political philosophies. And many companies have had to keep unneeded or undesirable workers on the payroll to avoid being charged with economic sabotage by the government.

But while political participation has increased, so has political dissent. The chief complaint has come from villagers who have been relocated on the new collective farms based on the Tanzanian "ujamaa" scheme. The Makua, one of nine major tribes but accounting for nearly 50 percent of the population, have become the focal point of dissent. Never supporters of Frelimo -- due to general political apathy -- this northern tribe could present formidable opposition.

Unemployment, higher than at any point in recorded history, has also created dissention. Many stevedores, for example, have been laid off, and those still employed have had their wages lowered. Domestics employed by the Portuguese have generally been without regular work for six to thirteen months. The government labor office recently reported it had been able to place only 159 of 11,000 applicants. And the situation has not been helped by the estimated 100,000 refugees returning from Tanzania.

Even the Frelimo army has displayed restlessness because of low pay



scales and the disincentive of only three possible ranks. This, plus recent stern warnings from President Samora Machel against army "privileges," led to an uprising of an estimated four hundred soldiers in mid-December that sputtered on for several days.

The government has attempted to squelch opposition by regular purges of both civilian and army personnel, which began in July -- just one month after Independence. The mayor of Lourenco Marques was one of the early casualties.

A special secret police unit -- the National Service of Popular Security or SNASP -- was recently formed to provide additional protection for "interests of the state." Responsible directly to the president, SNASP is allowed to act on any grounds it chooses to "detect, neutralize and combat all forms of subversion, sabotage and acts directed against the People's Power and its representatives, the national economy or against the objectives of the People's Republic of Mozambique." As one Mozambique resident complained, "It is Frelimo's PIDE [the dreaded Portuguese secret police]. There is no habeas corpus or means of appeal. If they pick you up, that's it."

Residents of Mozambique talk in private of the uneasy tension and the undercurrent of fear that pervades all aspects of life. Lourenco Marques, once a lusty spirited city, has become "lethargic," claimed one Frelimo supporter. Women walking alone at night are often picked up as prostitutes and sent for rehabilitation to the collective farms. Soldiers irregularly check people leaving cinemas or cafes for identity cards. In one case a man had his with him, but his wife and daughter had left theirs in the car a few feet away, so were taken off to detention for two days.

There are, however, still several hopeful signs for the fledgling new nation, indicators that make it unfair to be totally pessimistic about Mozambique. Among them:

Substantial amounts of foreign aid have been promised, including \$56 million from the People's Republic of China, \$20 million from the United Nations, and \$10 million from both Portugal and Sweden.

Export crops have benefited substantially from higher world prices. A United States Department of State survey claims sugar, coconut, copra, cashew nuts, timber, tea and sisal generated more in the first six months of 1975 than during the entire previous year.

Training centers and national seminars have been established to increase the number of teachers of school "monitors," many of whom have been sent to the rural areas where education was not available during the Portuguese period. The few doctors have also been dispersed to the far corners of the country rather than allowed to remain only in Lourenco Marques and Beira, the two urban centers.

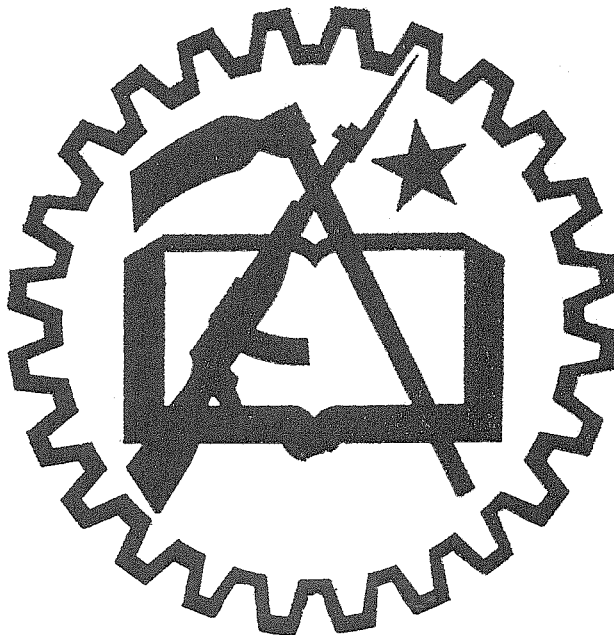
Within the Central Committee, Frelimo has managed to present a united front. "This is one of the most impressive aspects of the Independence

period," a foreign resident observed. "There is no feeling of internal dissent within the party. There may be problems among the masses, but at least the government is united."

Dissent among the masses, however, may be more important than unity within the government -- in the short term anyway.

The fruits of freedom have failed thus far to reach the masses. Just how long The People's patience will hold out is unpredictable at this point. But it is clear that the Frelimo government will have to work hard and fast to prove the benefits of a socialist system -- and rally people to support the effort.

A Lourenco Marques-based journalist summed up the situation: "It is difficult for these people to comprehend the long term; they think only of material benefits now. Anyone with sense would realize that Independence alone could not change their condition overnight. We must work for it. Too many think that since Frelimo fought the war for them, Frelimo will now -- alone -- make them rich. Until they realize they too must work and sacrifice, this government can not succeed."



Mozambique's New Emblem



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